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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

APRIL 6, 1992 \$2.25



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COVER

A FAMILY AFFAIR



The well-guarded image of Toronto's Reichmann family, the world's most powerful real estate developer, is under scrutiny because of reports that it is stretched by \$23 billion in debt. In an unusual move, Paul Reichmann stepped aside to enable a new president—and family outsider—to begin restructuring Olympic & York Developments Ltd.'s finances. — 34

OBITUARY

A DEATH IN THE FAMILY

Tributes poured in from across Canada after Barbara Frum, the host of the CBC's long-lived documentary show, The Journal, died at 54. Her passing ended a 19-year radio and TV career that set new standards for broadcast journalism and made her one of the country's best-known and most respected figures. — 48



WORLD

MAJOR CHALLENGE



Britain's Conservative Party has taken a cue from North American politics and thrust Prime Minister John Major front and centre in the current election campaign. But with the Tories trailing Labour, many Britons say that they wonder if Major's pliant demeanor is enough to keep him in power. — 23

THERE'S A PLACE WHERE YOUR BARSTOOL'S ALWAYS WARM.

THE ICE MELTS FAST

AND THE SONGS ON THE JUKEBOX NEVER CHANGE.

IT'S A PLACE YOU'LL FIND SOUTHERN COMFORT



An Empire In Trouble

The empire had a field day last week when the international banking establishment—joined by Finance Minister Daniel Maslowsky—narrowed a totally the Kleiman family empire into one of trouble. Most taxpayers would have difficulty imagining what it would be like to receive a call from their banker, offering to sit down quietly with the mortgage company and the car dealer to restructure payments of bills coming due.

The bank reality is, when a cash-short citizen owes the bank \$10,000, he has a problem, but when someone owes \$1 billion or \$50 billion—as the Kleimans do—the bank has a crisis. With corporate debt equivalent to that of all of Chile and its associates need for about \$400 million to meet interest payments, the Kleimans family's Olympia & York Development Ltd. last week received the undivided attention of a consortium of international and Canadian lenders. Royal Bank of Canada chairman Allan Rock, who generously represented his bank's interest in emergency talks, and the handling of the 647 issue was standard for "big money that got into trouble."

Clearly, the proud and aggressive Kleimans dynasty knew when to call for help. As reports of the crisis emerged, Paul Kleiman quickly stepped down as president to make way for New York City banker Thomas Johnson. Whether the move was forced or voluntary was not clear. Johnson and Kleimans then presented anxious lenders with a dark portrait of the firm's finances. This week, the company and the bankers scheduled another meeting to begin the task of restructuring the debt.

Indeed, the family's department and the recruitment of an outside expert probably forestalled a major rise on the family's legendary credibility. It was a risky contract to the handling of such recent corporate crises, especially Robert Campeau's defiant stance as the face of his unraveling fortunes. Still, last week Albert Kleimans, OY's chairman, personally bought the renewals of the Campeau empire, Camdex Corp., removing the real estate firm from OY's books. The big names were doing their best to get out of trouble.



Claire Rosemeyer (left) Cassin (left) and Senator William Desmar McIlwain (right) with reality.

Kevin Doyle



The Acropolis, Athens

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Executive Editors: Catherine Doyle, John Doyle

Assistant Managing Editors: Robert Doyle, John Doyle

News Editor: John Doyle

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Copy Editor: (Ottawa) Peter Doyle

Photo Editor: (Ottawa) Peter Doyle

Photo Editor: (Ottawa) Peter Doyle

Photo Editor: (Ottawa) Peter Doyle

Photo Editor: (Ottawa) Peter Doyle

Photo Editor: (Ottawa) Peter Doyle

Photo Editor: (Ottawa) Peter Doyle

Photo Editor: (Ottawa) Peter Doyle

Chief of Production: Quentin Doyle

Business: Oliver Andrew Wilson (Ottawa)

Graphic Arts: Peter Doyle, Peter Doyle

Layout: John Doyle, Oliver Doyle

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LETTERS

Bridging the gap

Unable to sleep at around 4 a.m. on a recent Saturday morning, I thought I would read *Marleau's*. I got hooked by your outstanding articles on our native people, "Drumbeats of rage," "A tale of two sites," "Breasting out of the mud!" and "Lonely cries of despair" (CNews, March 16). This is the kind of journalism that we need as Canadians in these difficult years of constitutional change: informative journalism. Few Canadians know their history well. As a French-Canadian with an ancestry going back to 1625 in Canada, I know the official French version. And many of my professional colleagues know the official English version. But when do we learn about the people who make up this beautiful country, about their pride, their dreams, their hopes, their successes and humilitations. *Marleau's* can help us to bridge the gap. I promise never to read it again in an attempt to fall back to sleep.

Napoleon Gauthier,
Kingston, Ont.

According to "Drumbeats of rage," Canada's native peoples "pound out that their ancestors controlled their own lives for thousands of years and they have never relinquished that right." Is it too obvious to remark that many conquered races never voluntarily relinquished their right to control their own lives? Our natives have more rights and freedoms than any overvalued culture in history. I would submit, indeed, that may be part of the problem. They protest too much, always. Our government should long ago have made clear to Indians the maximum reality of who is running the show in Canada. We do strive on fewer when we, whether through conscience or expediency, allow them to think that the clock can be turned back.

Ernest Robertson,
Hawkesbury

These days it seems as though every group in Canada wants self-government. Quebec wants to be ruled and governed by its own, Indians want their own autonomous establishments also. What about self-governments for English Canada? For a changed Government are moving their policies further and further away from the "equality-under-the-law" doctrine and are covering more and more to their own benefit. *Marleau's* claims to anti-government would in fact establish a new and segregative concept of "equality above the law." This further encroachment of multiculturalism will result in only one thing: more strife and more hatred between opposing cultural protagonists.

Brian Arch,
Mississauga, Ont.



Assembly of First Nations National Chief Ovide Mercredi: hopes and humiliations

The insolence of office

Your March 23 article "Perks at power" (CNews) was most interesting. However, the quote attributed to public-policy consultant Robert Fleming, "If you want to be critical of attracting the best people to elected office, the compensation must be reasonable," is, to say the least, confusing. Many of us know very well that we are not attracting the best people, and if this is the case, I am beginning to doubt that we can afford to attract the best.

J. G. Bowler,
Ottawa

The cynicism about MPs' perks could be erased if we had fewer MPs. Why do we require one MP for 50,000 people on average, while the U.S. counterpart represents 570,000 constituents? Let us reform the House of Commons by lowering the number of MPs to one-third. That would lower the cost, increase the calibre and (best of all) decrease the debates.

Paul Capron,
Calgary

I can see only three reasons why anyone would want to become an MP: 1) Privilege. MP for Gopher Gulch, Saskatchewan, speaks, from part of Gopher Gulch. After that, aside into obscurity in back benches. 2) Knight in shining armor. Calgoco to Hill planning to change direction of world's axis. Calgoco. Why tell us how to vote. 3) Salary, perks, nice pension. Did anyone force any of the 295 members of the House into politics? Finally, a

word of praise to Mr. Guy St-Onge, who declares many perks and makes his expenses public. Would there were more like him.

Larry MacDonnell,
Ottawa

Shuffling off to Buffalo

Ottawa's campaign to stop cross-border shopping is an mistake as your effort to report it. The bridge shown in "The border battle" (Business, Feb. 24) is not in Buffalo, N.Y., as you state, but in the Rainbow Bridge in Niagara Falls, N.Y. The error reaffirms my conviction that the issue is being weighed over by folks whose only grounding in the subject is based on an annual money tour of the Niagara Peninsula. I am in my late 30s, and border shopping has been going on for longer than I—or my grandfathers—has been alive. The assertion by Revenue Minister Ota Jelenak and his army of Unattachables that they can keep U.S. cigarettes out of Toronto is as misguided as J. Edgar Hoover's pledge during Prohibition to keep Chicago free of Canadian rye. By attaching cross-border shopping through tariffs at customs, the Maltese government continues to flounder, since the Free Trade Agreement was packaged on the principle that jobs could be created only by eliminating tariffs. Ottawa claims that cross-border shopping has cost Canada 55,000 low-paying service jobs, but every other like me believe that free trade has obliterated hundreds of thousands of high-paying manufacturing jobs. If large corporations can go to Buffalo for cheaper office space, why should I not be allowed to go to the Outlet Mall in Niagara Falls, N.Y., for cheaper shoes?

Jimmy Calk,
Kitchik, Ont.

Letters may be credited. Please supply some address and daytime telephone number. Write Letters to the Editor, *Maclean's*, Maclean's Tower Bldg., 777 King St. Toronto, Ont. M5X 1A1. Or call: (416) 593-5750.

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Abstract

David L. Campbell
David L. Campbell
David L. Campbell

President and Chief Executive Officer
Donald W. Johnson
Executive Office Building
10000 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 1000
Beverly Hills, CA 90210
Tel: 310.277.1000
Fax: 310.277.1001
E-mail: donald.johnson@hugoboss.com

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MARCH/APRIL / APRIL 6, 1992

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AN AMERICAN VIEW



A problem of egos and wealth

BY FRED ARMSTRONG

With off-season acquisitions of slugger Bobby Bonds and pitching ace Steve Niekirk, the New York Mets reported to spring training camp and confident. The season's new manager, Jolt Tabor, was of exceeding good cheer. From the team's front office came a catchy sales slogan for 1990: "Hardball is back."

But hardball is not back, not in the Mets camp. Players have more on their minds than swinging grounders and striking outs and staying loose for opening day. The game, itself, is barely worth mentioning in view of other events. Once again, the real world demands its due. Once again, we are given notice that big-league sports is no escape from the daily grind, but only a part of the grind. If you want to lose your troubles, forget the Mets. They've got troubles of their own.

Three members of the team—including the multi-talented hurler Dwight Gooden—have been accused of a heinous, hard-core sin: sexual abuse. A 21-year-old New York City woman says that in the spring of 1991, Gooden and outfielders Vince Coleman and Darryl Strawberry forced themselves upon her at a Florida house rented by Gooden. The players deny the allegations, and police are investigating, but, whatever the outcome, there is no way to make this sorry business go quickly away.

News reports out of Florida hint that whether or not a rape occurred, something atrocious happened between the three players and their accuser—stories that are disturbing enough to the reputations of Gooden and Coleman because the men are married and have children. At the very least, Boston, a baseball, feels himself at the center of an embarrassing media firestorm. At worst, he and the other two could spend several seasons checking back stories in the state pen.

Yes, there are questions: Why did the accuser wait a year? Is she a publicity-seeker or a prairie squaw, or just a little bit nutty? Is she

Fred Armstrong is a writer with *Saturday* in New York.

There are too many drug and alcohol scandals and an endless sexual Olympiad by our sports figures

after their money, or their love, or to the no more peculiar power trip? Or is it just as the woman claims in a lengthy, hard-core sin statement submitted to police: that she shared with the three at a bar, that Coleman and Boston left, that she complied when Gooden asked for a Boston house forced themselves upon her at a Florida house rented by Gooden. The players deny the allegations, and police are investigating, but, whatever the outcome, there is no way to make this sorry business go quickly away.

Or have we seen too much already? Maybe Johnson turned up in a positive and said that he slept with so many women he couldn't tell who made him sick. Pete Rose was banished from baseball for gambling. Phillies outfielder Larry Doby was charged by Mercedes with a love while driving drunk. Jose Canseco of the Odo-

line A's chased his estranged wife through suburban Miami and twice bashed her over with his Porsche, according to police. There are too many drug and alcohol scandals to count—Gooden is a graduate of a rehab program, himself—and, oh, how weary we grow if tales about the endless sexual Olympiad staged by our national sports figures.

Often fans complain that the problem is not so much the behavior of athletes, but public discussion of their antics. When baseball's free agency replaced the master-and-arrangement preferred by franchise owners, players liberated themselves most particularly in the post-lock. Many became millionaires and their sense of self-importance, always at human levels, quickly accelerated to the point of ignominy. In other words, society should have known it was time to take cover.

Kaplan and enormous wealth led inevitably to greater attention and a ceaseless run of stories on the subject of dupes, misdirection of young men, their primitive habits and the myriad ways in which they managed to torch their money. So the solution is simple, some argue. About that readers athletes are nearly a touch of jerks but keep news of their stupidity out of the paper. Sorry, folks, so can do.

Florida is a small state while Florida did not exactly have the discipline of a Zen master, few of his off-field follies cited daily headlines—and, further, that Babe Hardy was the only Babe Hardy character in those socks and knicker. That solution, operated on a different scale back then, athletes had not yet become more important than the game they played. Management had not become so thoroughly devoted to greed. Fans had not fallen into the deadly habit of bestowing the status of no-gods on pompous, overpaid giants.

The formula has evolved pretty much what might have been expected. The sports section reads must like a police roundup or gossip column, because like it or not, reporters get paid to report. Some migrated hotshot is always taking good care for risk, or being used by a phony lover, or trying to explain why a professional athlete got the size of a colony cat chosen to settle domestic disputes by cracking his wife in the head—the enraging method described by L. A. Dodgers right fielder Darryl Strawberry as his recent autobiography. And we think of our heroes as role models for our kids. Pure, no. Pure loss.

You could get depressed. So much anger and success takes the fun out of sports. In Florida, the Mets are trying to proceed with business, but who can think back with rumors of rape coming through camp? Even if authorities don't press charges, terrible suspicion will assault whippers will make all season, fans at parks around the country will whisper and hear and Gooden, Coleman and Boston will have to answer a thousand questions having little to answer with their personal suits or the National League president men. Met get men might as well be episodes of Night Court.

Though difficult to believe, baseball once was a business decision. Now it is a seller. Where have you gone, Joe DiMaggio? Any team there for the rest of us?

VOICES IN THE WILDERNESS

FEW OF QUEBEC'S FRANCOPHONE FEDERALISTS ARE SPEAKING OUT IN FAVOR OF A UNITED CANADA

Like many Quebec politicians of the embattled federalist school, Liberal Sen. Pierre Bédard deplores both the issue and the content of the debate about Canada's future. As deputy house leader of the Liberals' 66-member caucus in the House of Commons, Bédard has watched in growing dismay as the separatist agenda has come to dominate discussions about the province's future. Unlike many of his colleagues, however, Bédard, who represents the suburban Montreal riding of Mills-Ives, claims to know something about it. He sat down and wrote a book, a 306-page French-language attack on what he calls the "diagnosis of Quebec independence." Not only that, he spent \$15,000 of his own money to publish the work himself. So far, 1,500 copies of the book have been given away or sold—at \$17.95 each. "I just fed up on listening to all the nonsense," he declares. "It's time for those of us who want to save Canada—and Quebec—to stand up and be heard."

Bédard's book, titled *Sauver notre Québec* [To Save us is to Glorify], is a point-by-point assault on the Parti Québécois's assertions about the supposed loss of cost and high revenues of Quebec independence. Drawing on his own skills as a McGill University-trained lawyer and econo-

mist, as well as upon dozens of other Canadian, U.S. and European authorities, the 44-year-old MLA brings across in a wide range of Bédard's assumptions on subjects ranging from citizenship and language to monetary reform and commercial exchange. The attack is highly partisan and not particularly well written, shortcomings that Bédard himself freely concedes. "It's not an academic treatise, and it's certainly not *L'Express* or *Shakespeare*," he grins as he perches a cigarette-wrapped copy of the book across the table of a Quebec City restaurant. "But it is proof that there are still a few federalists around here who are willing to speak out."

With rare exceptions, however, Quebec's francophone federalists have created a vacuum by their silence. Ever since the June, 1990, demise of the Meech Lake constitutional accord, when emotions ran high over what many Quebecers viewed as yet another "betrayal" of their separation by English Canada, it has been the separatists who have seized the initiative. Supported by a sympathetic media, they have succeeded in shrouding those who favor remaining in the Canadian federation.

That silence permits despotic signs of an emerging mood of compromise in the rest of the country. Says Bédard: "It has not been as easy for people who feel they are in the dark to see the need to keep Quebec in Canada."

So far, at least, Bédard has little francophone federalists in Quebec have received little support from the province's political representatives in Ottawa. Of the 75 Quebec seats in the House of Commons, only six are held by Conservatives. Together, those Tories registered more than a third of their party's 158 MPs. But many of them, including such prominent cabinet members as Health Minister Berni Bonnell and Treasury Board President Gilles Lefebvre, are ardent Quebec separatists who risk losing the Conservative banner in the 1994 general election primarily to defeat the federal Liberals.

whose policies tended to favor a strong central government. Since then, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government has offered to transfer a wide variety of federal powers to the provinces, both in part of the Meech Lake accord and in its more recent constitutional proposals.

Even now, however, said of Quebec's Tory MPs do not show strong willingness to support the government's constitutional initiatives—or intervention in general. On the contrary, some of them expressed strong opposition to the Dobson-Boudreau parliamentary report on renewed federalism, released at the end of February, despite the fact that it proposed a sweeping transfer of federal powers to the provinces and special status for Quebec.

Defence Minister Marcel Masse, for one, raised eyebrows within both the caucus and cabinet when he told reporters—despite Mulroney's glowing endorsement—that the cabinet's recommendations were unacceptable. "In my view, it's not viable," Masse said. "If we want to have large support in Quebec, we will have to talk something different." Mulroney, federal officials say, harshly criticized Masse in a subsequent Tory caucus meeting, telling the defence minister that his comments were premature and should have been aired only in private.

In fact, Mulroney himself is the only Quebec

Rhodes: "You have to remember that people are emotional about this right now"

Tory cabinet member publicly fighting for Canadian unity. Intervenor in a speech on a Quebec City radio station last week, he told listeners bluntly that they faced a choice between separatism and a renewed Canadian Confederation. "You ask that question [and] 10 times out of 10, Quebecers are going to say, 'We want a renewed Canada,'" he added that failure to reach a constitutional settlement would have "catastrophic effects" on Quebec's economic and political stability. "It's not sovereignty, it's the separation of Quebec," the Prime Minister said. "It's the end of Canada. Those won't be any of these grandiose like currency, citizenship as the benefits of the economic union. It won't happen as if it were not a brutal divorce."

Despite Mulroney's rhetoric, most members of his Quebec caucus say that they are willing to use the federal government's formal constitutional proposals before deciding whether to endorse renewed federalism. The government had initially planned to table its offer in April, but shelved that approach in favor of trying to reach a prior agreement with active groups and the eight English-speaking provinces. A package of suggested constitutional amendments is now not expected until

June, at the earliest. "There's a fear of making a mistake," explain one senior party strategist. Adds Marcel Masse, a Quebec City Tory MP who was one of 30 members of the Dobson-Boudreau committee: "We are in a position of having to defend Canada right now. We are in a unique period for the final constitutional offers."

Moreover, many Quebec-based politicians are clearly afraid of exposing federalism as their home province. They fear Jean-Pierre Bédard, a Dobson-Boudreau committee member, took this risk—and paid the price. After he publicly hailed the committee's report as a "masterpiece," a weekly newspaper in his riding of Joseph-É. 150 km north of Quebec City, unforgotten Bédard as a "treasonary Captain Canada" who is "treason," "noisy" and "incompetent." Said Claude Girard, the editor of *La Presse* in Québec: "Mr. Bédard has lost an enormous amount of credibility in this area." Bédard was in Arizona, Mexico, last week and unavailable for comment.

Bédard himself acknowledges facing a certain trepidation before he published his pro-Canada book. "I thought I might get my head cut off by the media," he said. But with the exception of a letter review in the Quebec City

RAD BLOOD
Relations between Ontario and Ottawa became volatile during the first municipal conference on the economy. NDP Premier Bob Rae claimed that his province is being cheated in Confederation and called Finance Minister Donald Macdonald an "absconding debtor" for lessening Ontario's contribution towards health care and social assistance programs. Macdonald, in turn, shot back that Rae was being "juvenile."

POINTING THE FINGER
A hard-hitting inquiry into the March 30, 1989, crash of an Air Ontario jet at Dryden, Ont., in which 24 people died, concluded that the accident "was allowed to happen." In his 1,213-page report, Alberta Court of Queen's Bench Justice Virdi Molinsky took aim at Canada's air-traffic control system, saying that "the flight crew, the aircrew and the regulations all played a role in the ultimate fate of Flight 1202." Federal Transport Minister Jean Corbin accepted the report, but added: "Canada's aviation system is safe."

REFORM ON A ROLL
More than 3,000 people attended a Reform party nomination meeting in park Raymond Sproule as the party's candidate for the federal riding of Lethbridge-Sproule, who resigned from Alberta's Tory cabinet on Jan. 3, lost four other candidates on the first ballot. He declared that the Reform party "can win every seat [35] in Alberta" in the next election.

PERNI-PUNCHING
Newfoundland's Liberal government brought down a budget that contradicts its policy of restraint. As well as enacting a freeze on hiring and firing in the provincial government departments, with no raises for public servants in the coming fiscal year, Premier Minister Robert Ritches announced an increase in personal income taxes of four percentage points over the next two years. The increases and surpluses also figured prominently in the maiden budget of British Columbia's new government. Finance Minister Glen Clark increased personal income taxes by one percentage point to 52.5 per cent of the taxable income. He also approved doctors' billings and abolished their pension plan.

A CLARIFICATION
The Supreme Court of Canada clarified its controversial 1980 decision on the right to a speedy trial, saying that a delay of 18 months before an accused person comes to trial is acceptable under certain circumstances.



Trudeau: intervention

daily *Le Soleil*, the anticipated backlash did not develop. The response to Billette's book in the francophone press has, in fact, been surprisingly muted. And Billette says that many of his colleagues in the provincial Liberal caucus, including Premier Robert Bourassa, have congratulated him on his forlorn fate. "It took some guts on his part," and Jacques Chagnon, secretary of the Liberal MHA, who represents a district in Montreal, adds:

Federal Tories and provincial Liberals agree that Quebec voters are in a volatile mood—impatient, frustrated and even angry at the rest of Canada. Conservative MP Jean-Guy Haedens, parliamentary secretary to Constitutional Affairs Minister Jim Clark, says that he publicly defends the notion of a "revived federalism" in his riding, southeast of Montreal. But he adds: "You always have to remember that people are emotional about all of this right now."

Constitutional dialogue is part of the problem. "People are fed up with constitutional talk," agrees MP Gilles Bessier, who represents the strongly sovereigntist Basque region, south of Quebec City. He says that his constituents, while awaiting "concrete, tangible offers" from the rest of the country, are also concerned about the dirty state of the economy. French-southern voters, in fact, may play a pivotal role in determining the future of Confederation. Says Gabrielle Bertrand, the Conservative MP from Thémiscoumque, in the province's Eastern Townships, "There are serious sovereigntists in my riding, but the general population lives the economic effects of separatism." Adds Louis Bourgeois, MP for Argenteuil/Papineau, just west of Montreal, "People are realistic. They realize that as independent Quebec, from an economic point of view, is going to experience difficulties."

That particular argument lies at the heart of Billette's book. The Montreal muse maintains that a decision by the Quebec government to secede from the rest of Canada would result in a 30 per cent drop in gross regional product. Among other things, he predicts a 3.5 per cent drop in Quebec's annual production of goods and services, a three-percentage-point increase in unemployment and the exodus of 80,000 families, representing some 200,000 of Quebec's 6.5 million people. "These are not things that Quebec, through some kind of vote-trickery, will experience on risk in following the road to independence are more akin to someone's apprehensions than responsible political figures."

Adding Billette's book contains no pre-arranged revelations, his publication appears to reflect a change in attitude on the part of some of Quebec's francophone leaders. The province's business community, for one, is no longer as sympathetic to the sovereigntist cause as it was a year ago, a change prompted in part by the economic downturn and impact by mergers ahead of the rise of separatism by such industry leaders as Laurence Bird, chairman of Bombardier Inc., and Raymond Cyr, chairman of BCE Inc. Bourassa's own recent remarks about federalism, meanwhile, have been far

less removal than in the past. Speaking in the National Assembly earlier this month, the premier praised Canada: "In a free country, progress in the world in terms of peace, freedom, justice and standard of living." A few days later, he told a meeting of his Liberal party's general council that "affirmation of Quebec within Canada remains a constant in Liberal party policies." He added that "in the eyes of history it would be surprising if we to hold a referendum that could weaken Quebec"—a remark that left many analysts concerned that Bourassa is planning to avoid that course of action by amending Bill 153, which calls for a

one thing for use to defend federalism in my riding, but people's eyes are on the heavyweights," he says. "Right now there are answers that are divergent, and others that raise questions. I'm anxious to see what steps [Quebecers] will be wearing when the federal offer is finally announced."

One prominent Quebecer expected to leap into the fray within weeks is former Liberal leader Pierre Elliott Trudeau. As prime minister, Trudeau played a key role in defending federalism during the final weeks of the 1980 referendum campaign. He also spoke out vigorously against the Meech Lake constitutional



Billette: little support from Quebec's political representatives in Ottawa

referendum on Quebec's future to be held by Oct. 26.

Billette, for his part, claims the current situation in Quebec is the one that existed during the run-up to the 1980 provincial referendum on sovereignty. Then, as now, public opinion suggested that voters were split roughly 50-50 between those favouring sovereignty and those favouring Canadian federalism. The final result, 60-40 in favour of federalism. "Federalists spoke out fearfully in 1980 and were eventually able to bring public opinion towards the Canadian option," he argues. "I think the same thing is going to happen again—no long as Quebec is governed with a reasonable effort from the rest of the country." Added Neil Cameron, a member of Quebec's outgoing federalist Liberal party: "What we may be witnessing is the beginning of another era of those massive mood swings that sometimes happen across here, where all the francophone politicians, without ever seeming to need to consult with each other, suddenly agree as one man."

But that statement may be premature. Hudson's Bay co., points out that the federal party's big gains have yet to begin firing. "It's

second, saying that it would enunciate the federal government and create divisions. Friends of Trudeau's told Montreal that work that he is preparing a public statement on the current constitutional negotiations that once again will state the case for a strong federal presence in both Canada and Quebec. They added that Trudeau may deliver his remarks at a planned ceremony to mark the unveiling of his official portrait in the Parliament Buildings on May 1.

But the current generation of Quebec federalists is unlikely to welcome Trudeau's attention. Few of them share Trudeau's abiding belief in the need for overarching central government powers and his equally forceful opposition to special status for Quebec. "I am a federalist to be sure," says Billette, "but I am also fully aware that unless Quebecers can agree to give Quebecers a certain amount of autonomy, the whole game may be lost. The fact that some constitutional federalists in Quebec cannot agree on the best course of action as a sign of the difficulties that lie ahead."

BARRY CAME in Quebec City with GLENN ALLEN on Ottawa



Earlier phase of James Bay project: harnessing a river's immense power

New York blackout

Quebec cancels a contract with Hydro Quebec

Cree Chief Billy Diamond was thinking of those who he heard the news. He had just sat off on the nine-hour drive from Val-d'Or in northern Quebec to his Wapikong home on the shores of James Bay, where preparations are well advanced for the annual event that heralds the northern spring—the goose hunt. "I turned on the car radio to see if I could get a weather forecast," Diamond, 42, recalled. "What do I hear instead but a surprising announcement from New York. I almost drove off the road." What startled the Cree chief, chairman of one of five committees currently considering the environmental impact of the proposed Great White River hydroelectric project, was last week's decision by New York Gov. Mario Cuomo to cancel a \$1.5-billion contract to purchase Quebec power. Said Diamond: "As soon as I heard that, I knew that the Great White project, maybe even the whole James Bay development, had been knocked into a tailspin."

Cuomo's announcement dealt a devastating blow to the \$1.5-billion plan to harness the immense power of the Great White River, which flows into Hudson Bay 1,000 km northwest of Montreal. In breaking out of a deal that he had signed in 1984, the governor threw into doubt both the immediate economic viability of the 3,168-megawatt project and the need for it, at least until the negotiating of the next century. Hydro Quebec officials alerted last week to play down the impact of the New York governor's announcement. "There will be no

drop. Geo-Game, grand chief of Quebec's Grand Council of Chiefs, "Hydro Quebec needs the American dollars. The American needs the power and the American continues to proceed."

According to Cuomo, New York state no longer requires the 1,000 megawatts of power it had planned to buy over a 20-year period beginning in 1995. "We do not need new

declared Quebec Energy Minister Luc Bouché. Bouché maintained that the lawdown in negotiations amounted to a "suspension in the talks" rather than a permanent cancellation of the contract. And both Cuomo and Power Authority chairman Richard Flynn left open the possibility that the state would purchase additional electricity from Quebec in the future if, as Cuomo put it, "the cost is competitive, the need exists and the appropriate environmental reviews for any new facilities have been conducted." Hydro Quebec officials, meanwhile, said that the utility still needs to satisfy projected increases in domestic demand as well as a separate deal with New York to provide up to 400 megawatts of power from 1999 and 2010 and a 30-year, 340-megawatt project with Vermont that runs to the end of 2020. But all of those reasons, Bouché insisted that Great White must proceed. He added: "We are not out of a decision or a plan."

But even before Cuomo's announcement last week, it was clear that New York officials were uneasy about the project. Two weeks ago, state legislators voted overwhelmingly to commission an independent environmental review of Hydro Quebec's plan. By coincidence, the spouse of that activist, state Assemblyman William Hoyt, suffered a heart attack and died suddenly on the assembly floor last week—a factor that appeared to influence the timing of Cuomo's decision.

Hoyt's death was widely mourned by Cree leaders, many of whom—including Cuomo—shared the sympathy. In Buffalo, N.Y., last weekend, "We had a good friend," Diamond said. "He would have been gratified to see what he helped to accomplish."

BARRY CAME in Montreal



GETTING OUT WITH THE BOYS

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Destination Europe

Canadians are returning to the Old Continents

Like hundreds of thousands of immigrants in the middle of this century, Godina and Wilfred Lenczai abandoned war-torn Europe to seek a better life in North America. They settled in Toronto in the 1950s, taught in western towns in a middle-class neighborhood and put their three daughters through college. But early last year, their two older daughters—Andrea, 29, and Blanka, 25—took stock of their lives in Canada and returned to their parents' German homeland.

They now live in Hagenfurt, a 10th-century town on the edge of the Black Forest where their ancestors have lived for generations. Says Blanka, a former travel agent in Toronto who now manages Mediterranean tours for German residents: "I appreciate having grown up in Canada, but this really feels like home."

The Lenczai sisters are part of a wave of young Canadians who are reversing historic migration patterns by moving to Western Europe. Many of them are ambitious, well-educated offspring of immigrants who made the same trans-Atlantic journey in the early decades. For some of the new Europe-bound emigrants, the twin pressures of Canada's economic and non-employment problems through the country's recession as a potential propellant have a "You have to think hard about what kind of future you must achieve your children—and I am not a parent who is a Canadian," declared Frank Godina, a 29-year-old law student at Balliol's Delaware University and the son of post-Second World War Italian immigrants. Andrea Godina, who plans to move to Italy to launch a career in business at the end of next year with her husband, Daniela, a 26-year-old nurse of Milan, "Europe seems to have something. This country does not."

Europe's emergence as a destination for Canadian emigrants is clearly a well-known phenomenon. European explorers first charted Canada's shores in the 16th century, the flow of migration has been overwhelmingly westward. In the 25 years after the Second World War, about 2.5 million people flooded onto Canada from Western Europe. But the number of European immigrants tumbled off in the 1970s,

and last year only 22,000 people from that area moved to Canada. One reason for that decline was the rapid increase in the European standard of living. In 1985, Canada's national income was the equivalent of \$2,500 per person—about 50 per cent higher than West Germany's. But 20 years later, the European country's per capita income had risen slightly above Canada's.

The dramatic rise in European living standards is reflected in the personal fortunes of

grata. But although rules vary, most countries extend citizenship to Canadian-born descendants of former nationals (see chart). Andrea and Blanka Lenczai were eligible for German citizenship because their father was a German citizen when they were born. And their German passports allow them to live and work in any of the EC nations under the country's rules guaranteeing free movement of labor.

Moreover, the benefits of European citizenship are expanding. Next year, the EC and the European Free Trade Association—Austria, Finland, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland—are planning to form the world's largest trading bloc, with a population of 300 million. But Quebec francophones are less able to take advantage of any citizenship provisions. Unlike the European nations that arrived in this century in Canada, the overwhelming majority of French Quebecers

never became citizens of a nation.

Edward Wilson, 34, the son of a British surgeon who grew up in Belfast, Alta, has held a British passport since childhood. A graduate of the University of British Columbia law school, Wilson moved to London in 1989 to pursue a career in international banking. He is now a manager in the equity syndicate department of S G Warburg Group, the United Kingdom's largest merchant bank. In his spare time, Wilson makes frequent weekend trips to Paris to enjoy its restaurants and parks, and he makes regular use of French ski resorts. Says Wilson: "The snow is very good at the Alps this year."

While Pivo and Wilson say that they are optimistic about the future of the country they left behind, others still packing their bags are less enthralled with Canada's prospects. Armed with an undergraduate English degree from Toronto's York University, MacKenzie Pivovarov plans to move to Athens this summer with her husband, Deana, a Greek-born architect and Canadian citizen, and their three-year-old twin daughters to enroll in an English language school. The 25-year-old daughter of Greek immigrants complains that high taxes have helped to make the cost of living in Canada unbearable—and that the country has a "cloudy future." In her, Greece offers a strong national culture and a rising economic, reflected in skyrocketing real estate prices in the Athens area. "This is a wonderful time for Greece," Pivovarov declared, "especially with the EC image."

Many of the Canadians who are seeking a new life in Europe hold impressive credentials. Toronto-born Francesco Grieco, 36, the son of Italian immigrants, holds an undergraduate law degree from Oxford University and a master's in law from the University of Chicago. Last year, he joined a New York City legal firm that plans to open an office in Milan. Grieco, who obtained an Italian passport in 1988 and speaks fluent Italian, says that he hopes to find a position there. And while he notes that Canada has been good to his parents and other family members, Grieco says that Canada's constitutional debate has fed his desire to leave his family's adopted land. The recognition of Canada's multiculturalism and French-English controversy, Grieco says: "But where do I, and all the other minorities, fit in?" Italy appears to be a dream to him because of its long history and sense of national pride. "It's a cultural attraction which has become even



Wilson changing historical patterns

stronger now that the place of minorities in Canada has been widened," he says.

Some European countries have voted out a real target for the energetic new immigrants. Finland, for one, offers immediate citizenship to foreigners who have at least one Finnish

parent—and pays them a \$2,700 bonus if they move to that country and find a job within six months. Last year, a government-sponsored magazine for expatriate Finns proudly cited World Bank statistics showing that Finland had achieved the world's fourth-highest ranking in per capita income—behind Switzerland, Luxembourg and Japan—up from 15th place two decades earlier. Paced with a low birthrate and a shortage of skilled workers, the Finnish government plans to sponsor a series of seminars this year for would-be immigrants in part of a nationwide celebration of the 75th anniversary of the country's independence. Called "Roots in Finland," the massive event is aimed at about one million Finns living abroad—including the 50,000 Finnish and second-generation Finns in Canada. Says Bruce Lindstrom, a top job adviser at Finland's labor ministry: "Thousands of Finns left their homeland because of bleak prospects, but now the country is in much better shape. Those people are an asset, and we are inviting them back along with their children."

But the incentives had little influence on Eleni Pivo, 24, a Canadian of Finnish descent who moved to Finland last year. Pivo recalled how she was carried across the ocean by a more timeless current: "I met this guy and fell in love when I came to Finland on vacation. He seemed so friendly, so warm, so caring for a European-based Finnish-language newspaper. Pivo now lives with her boyfriend in the major house of an old dairy in southern Finland, where she runs her own translation business. "I had always wanted to move to Finland," says Pivo, "but I didn't think it would happen this soon."

The timing of the Lenczai sisters' European move was also unexpected. Says Blanka Lenczai, left her job at a Toronto travel agency at the end of 1990 because of a deskwork in the industry due to the recession. She convinced her sister, who now earns about \$50 an hour in a pause position in a bank, to accompany her to Germany, where the unemployment rate is currently 6.2 per cent, compared with 14.6 per cent in Canada. In addition to offering more job opportunities than Canada, Blanka Lenczai says, Germany boasts better social benefits, such as free dental care and maternity leave of up to three years. "With no restrictions Germany has a more promising future than Canada," she added. An increasing number of young Canadians appear to be arriving at similar conclusions.

PHIL KARLA



Frank and Daniela Godina: "Europe seems to have a mission—this country does not"

Canada's Italian arrivals. When his parents left Italy in the 1950s, few people in their southern village could afford to leave vacations. Godina says, and his family or television set was considered "a great luxury." He added: "Now we go back to visit and everyone's got the latest television and cars, and they take a month's holiday in the Alps or on the Riviera. They tell us, 'America è qui'—America is here."

By post accounts, only a few thousand Canadians are moving to Europe permanently each year. The Federal Government does not require immigrants to obtain exit permits, making it virtually impossible to track the trend precisely. As well, few European consulates in Canada maintain statistics on who is applying to come

are descended from 17th- and 18th-century settlers—and they cannot easily obtain an exit passport.

For his part, Douglas Pivo, a former Minister and a 36-year-old graduate of McGill University's MBA program, acquired a British passport in 1989 on the strength of his father's British citizenship. After working for a year at a small publishing company in Brussels, he obtained a job as a trainee policy analyst there with the Canadian mission to the EC. Pivo, who speaks Finnish and Spanish in addition to English, says that half a dozen of his McGill classmates have also moved to the city in the past two years, and that several more are in the way. "They've been drawn by the magnet of European citizenship," Pivo says. "In recent

A TICKET TO EUROPE

Many Canadians have descendants of Western Europeans are automatically eligible for citizenship in their family's country of origin. In this chart, the European Community nations, that allow them to live and work anywhere in the EC, or apply for a passport to extend their mobility anywhere and Jan. 1 to citizens of Austria, Finland, Ireland, Luxembourg, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland. A survey of how some countries provide citizenship.



BRITAIN
Applicants can claim citizenship if their father was born in Britain, or if their mother was born in Britain and applicant was born after 1952. Those who did not meet either condition must prove at least one British-born grandparent can claim in the United Kingdom—but cannot claim alone.



FINLAND
At least one parent must be Finnish. If neither parent was a Finnish citizen at time of the applicant's birth, the applicant must first establish residency in Finland. First-generation Finnish who immigrate from outside Europe receive \$2,700 government grants—but only if they find employment within six months.



GERMANY
Citizenship granted if father was German when applicant was born. People born after 1975 are eligible if their parent was a German citizen.



GREECE
Eligible if father was Greek, or if grandfather was Greek and father was not Greek but subsequently obtained Greek citizenship. Children born after 1983 are also eligible if the mother was Greek.



IRELAND
Can claim citizenship immediately if at least one parent is Irish-born. Who eligible if at least one grandparent is Irish-born, but application process takes up to two years.



ITALY
Eligible if father was Italian citizen at time of applicant's birth. Applicants born after 1948 are also eligible if mother was Italian. Can also claim citizenship if at least one grandparent was Italian when applicant's mother or father was born.

MAJOR CHALLENGE

BRITAIN'S CONSERVATIVES WILL BE FIGHTING FOR THEIR LIVES IN NEXT WEEK'S GENERAL ELECTION

The first word many Tories use to describe John Major is "nice." And so the campaign trail last week, the Conservative prime minister did his best to disappoint them. He smiled warmly as it does for left-left demonstrators heckled him outside a hospital in the northern city of York. He kept smiling as he made politicians' small talk with parties and men. And his grin never slackened when he found himself at his last in a garden course, wearing a daffodil and confiding to surprised shoppers that "I'm really a lush and a bit of a lover." Mary Kebley, a middle-aged woman who was buying a bag of peas, was clearly delighted by a glimpse of Major. "Oh, he does seem nice," said Kebley, but her friend Helen Clark posed the question that many anxious Conservatives were asking: "Is that really enough?"

As Britain's acerbic-long election campaign gained its midpoint last week, the answer from opinion polls was probably not. Major's Conservatism, bolstered by a deep conviction that his cut into their traditional support, narrowly trailed the opposition Labour Party by between one and three percentage points. If Labour keeps that lead until the election on April 9, it could form a minority government, end 13 years of Tory rule in Britain and erect its second, mid-numbered John Major from 10 Downing Street. That prospect left Conservatives jittery, and many some Tories openly critical of the party's lackluster campaign. Others were less quietly questioning whether Major has the toughness and political skills to fight his way back to office.

Publicly, Conservative opponents continued to make last week that the 46-year-old Major is their best asset. When he replaced Margaret Thatcher as Tory leader in November, 1989, they praised him as background as a poet boy from the slums of south London as others to

drive home the point that the party was moving from harsh Thatcherism to a softer brand of caring conservatism. Major's personal popularity was shown in his election, and the Tories' election manifesto carried a large photo of his smiling face on its cover. That emphasis on a party leader's personality is still unusual in British politics. Major, his supporters maintain, combines firmness on bedrock Conservative principles with an open, approachable anger that is the opposite of Thatcher's forbidding presence. "He has great leading qualities, but he has a great sense of humor as well," said Andrew Thompson, who served as Major's political organizer for six years in his short-lived constituency northeast of London. Before going on to work as Thatcher's agent for most of the 1980s. Added Thompson: "There are people in the party now wondering if he's tough enough. But when the chips are down, that will show."

The chips certainly were down last week as the Tory campaign continued to splutter. But there was little sign that Major's personal performance could erase Labour's narrow lead. Going into the election for a one-term House of Commons, a key part of the Conservatives' strategy was to present Major himself as their most important one offering to voters. With a new leader and some new policies, the Tories clearly hoped that Britain would conclude that they had already had a change of government—without needing to have a change of party. Even Major's bluntness could be presented as a refreshing change from Thatcher's overbearing presence. But with their party in trouble, some Tories questioned whether Major's low-key manner was a distinct handicap.

Reporters from pro-Tory newspapers even complained to Major's aides that he was not taking the time of punchy quips that they wanted as ammunition against Labour.

Major continued to reel off statistics-laden answers to their questions. When Thatcher herself made an unexpected campaign appearance alongside Major last week, her still-firmer rhetoric made her successor's performance seem less impressive by comparison. Thatcher had been expected to play only a minor role in the campaign, as a result, her high-profile speech to Tory candidates in London was widely interpreted as a bid by organizers to spur up their waning efforts. The Conservatives were clearly balancing two factors: Thatcher's still-powerful presence could silence party skeptics with extra enthusiasm, but it could also work against the Tories by reminding voters of her unpopular policies.

In small groups, Major can charm voters with a gentle manner and careful attention to their views. But in front of large audiences, the prime minister's fast voice and awkward body language dampen his message. Tory organizers tried to sharpen his speeches and provided him with a videotaped 45-minute portable set for some big rallies with party supporters. But he left even some of those Tory enthusiasts shuffling their feet in the middle of his speeches.

Some independent analysts said that Tory

opinion even more strident attacks on Labour. And adopting a negative approach would reinforce the widespread impression that, after 13 years in office, the Tories have little new and positive to offer of their own. Another problem with shifting tactics is Major himself. The prime minister made it clear that he would not pretend to be what he is not. Voters, he said last week, can spot a phony a mile away. "I'm going to go on being me."

In fact, the Tories have put Major front and center in their propaganda—particularly in a



Major on the stump is a nice, mid-numbered candidate tough enough to win?

organizers at party headquarters in London's South Square were divided and rattled last week as the possibility of defeat became more realistic. Alan Bennett, a political adviser at the Conservative Party clinic, said that some senior Tories wanted Major to make the campaign temperate and confident Labour and its leader, Neil Kinnock, more directly. But that, Bennett added, presented problems of both style and substance. If Major attempts to deliver more aggressive speeches, he said, "his voice may and he sounds all strident."

As well, Bennett said, that strategy would

10-minute TV broadcast of his early life, directed by Hollywood film-maker John Schlesinger, called *The Journey*. Believed during the campaign's first week, it showed Major going back to his roots in north London, returning voters and unemployment before rising to the highest office at the head.

Major's may has already entered Britain's political folklore. He grew up as a lower-middle-class comfort in the London suburbs of Chiswick, where the city merged with rural Surrey. His father, Thomas, a colorful character who was at various times a pugger, acrobat and bouncer

A NUCLEAR SCARE
Russian officials said that they knew no plans to build a Chernobyl-style nuclear reactor despite worldwide concern caused by a leak of radioactive gas at a plant near St. Petersburg. The release of radioactive gases at the Sverdlovsk chemical plant earlier in the year had caused an air of doubt as to the safety of Soviet nuclear plants. In 1990, a leak of radioactive gas at Chernobyl, across the world's worst nuclear accident, in 1986.

A CHANGE OF GUARD
Europe's last holder of communism fell as Alexander Rut, long Democratic party, led by 47-year-old candidate, not 54. Rut, won 62 per cent of the vote in multiple parliamentary elections. The former Communist, renounced the Socialist, relinquished their 44-year grip on power after losing just 35 per cent.

WIPPOI ARGUES ITS CASE
Layne applied to the International Court of Justice in The Hague to block American and British attempts to leave. Tropic had over two Liberian suspects in the 1984 bombing of a Pan Am airliner over the Scottish town of Lockerbie that killed 270 people.

BROWN FIGHTS BACK
In the March 24 Conservative presidential primary, Desmond Edmund (Gerry) Brown won 57 per cent of the vote, edging out first-runner William Clinton's 36-per-cent share. Still, the odds for selecting delegates—on the basis of the vote in the state's congressional districts—left Clinton with 22, one more than Brown.

HIGH-TECH TRADE
Fostering dramatic changes in the former Soviet Union, the Bush administration endorsed the purchase of \$16.4 million worth of advanced space technology and nuclear fuel from Russia. The items include a space reactor, a few pounds of plutonium-238 for space power supply needs and four reactors for manufacturing space hardware.

JERUSALEM SETTLEMENT
Two-attorney Jews announced that the Israeli government had given them land made for 10 years of Jewish Old City for the construction of 200 new houses, the largest development since Israel's independence was annexed by Israel in 1967. Israel's Jewish settlement drive in the occupied territories has caused tensions with Washington and strained peace talks with neighboring Arabs.

artist, had retired from show business and started a business making garden ornaments in his backyard. But in 1950, when John Major was 12, the business went bankrupt and the future prime minister suffered the blow that shaped his outlook and prospects.

The Majors were forced to move to a dingy two-room apartment on Colindale Lane in the tough south London district of Brixton, where impoverished black immigrants from the Caribbean were already beginning to settle. The hardships were down three flights of stairs, and one of the building's other tenants was a professional thief. The young Major continued to attend school in his old Chorn

amsted in politics. He joined the Young Conservatives at 15, even though Brixton was solidly Labour at the time. In *The Tories*, Major challenges perceptions that a poor boy from Brixton should be left-wing. "Why should I be a socialist?" he asks rhetorically. His typically long-winded answer: "It is people in that background who have actually suffered most from the fact that we have had a society in which the free-enterprise spirit moved ahead and then was blocked as we moved over the years from Conservative governments to socialist governments."

Major worked his way up through the ranks of both the Standard Chartered Bank and the

wing of the party continue to give for the days of full-blooded, free-enterprise Thatcherism, although others have reconciled themselves to Major's toned-down version. Norman Tebbit, a former Conservative party chairman whose far-right views and attack-dog personality made him even more Thatcherite than Thatcher herself, and one of the two politicians "Mrs. Thatcher is conservative by instinct, intellect and philosophy from the very beginning, and her politics flowed from that. In that she is a very unusual conservative. Most people become conservatives from experience, by finding out what works, as John Major did. So they come from opposite ends."

Major himself declines to define his philosophy, although he has singled out Ian Macdonald, a leading British Conservative in the 1950s and 1960s who championed socially conscious "One Nation" Tories, as a hero. And he insists that he is building on Thatcher's achievements, not reversing them. "On the basic themes of the Conservative Party—choice, opportunity, a reward if you would find time to choose between Mrs. Thatcher and me," he said recently. "We're a very broad church, the Conservative Party. That's one reason we spent getting on to two-thirds of the past 150 years in government."

Last week, however, Major's focus was on the much more immediate concern of saving his party from impending defeat. The task is an enormous one. Despite the shortcomings in the party's campaign and Major's personal performance, the Conservatives' overwhelming problems lie out of their control. As members of the governing party, they are saddled with blame for the

TURNING AGAINST THE TORIES

Herbert Taylor, 64, and wife Lilian, 59, are typical of many middle-class Britons who voted for Margaret Thatcher's Conservatives in the 1980s but appear to be swinging to Labour in the upcoming election. Former part-owners of a bookbinding company, the retired couple now live on a combined annual income of \$30,000 from investments and state pensions. They live in a semi-detached house in South London's Tory-held Eitham constituency.



"I am changing my allegiance because the government has grown down the social structure in this country. If you are a politician, you must have a social conscience. If you can't see that the poor people are getting poorer, the homeless getting worse off, the sick getting worse care, then you are unfit to govern."

"I can't vote Tory—they've lost their social conscience."
—Herbert Taylor

"We have had the poll tax, cuts in services to hospitals and libraries, and are fighting to hold on to everything. After 13 years, we need a change."
—Lilian Taylor

neighborhood, suffering the humiliation of suddenly being a poor boy wearing a secondhand blazer. Friends have said that the experience gave him a lasting anger at politicians behaving.

Not surprisingly, Major left school at 16. He worked briefly as a clerk for an insurance company, then spent nine months drawing occupational benefits—failing even to get a job as a bookbinder. Later, he worked as a laborer. At 22, he found a job as a bank teller and finally began to forge a career as a banker. His father's valedictorian background and Major's eventual career have prompted a joke that he is the only man ever to have run away from the circus to join a bank.

Long before he started with the Standard Chartered Bank, however, Major had become

Conservative Party with a combination of hard work and careful cultivation of his exposure. After winning the safe Conservative seat of Haslemere in 1978, he was given government posts—such as the powerful backbenches role of chief Tory whip—that attracted little public attention but allowed him to express fervor. As a result, Major was largely overlooked as a possible successor to Thatcher until just a year or so before he emerged as party leader and Britain's youngest prime minister of the century at 42. "He came up the inside track," said Thomson, his former organizer. "With John, people are always asking, 'Where'd this fellow come from?'"

Even as Tory ranks there is still some confusion over what type of conservative Major actually believes in. Some Tories on the right

contend someone that has set unemployment and bankruptcies soaring in Britain. In hindsight, say these critics, Major may well have missed his best chance at re-election a year ago. In the wake of the Persian Gulf War, the new prime minister's popularity was high and the recession had not yet bitten deeply. Major has said that he did not call a vote there because it would not have been right to take quick advantage of the war's outcome, and his government had not yet come up with a replacement for Thatcher's widely disliked tax policies that had sparked riots across Britain. Should he lose power, history may well judge that he was too late for his own good—and for that of his party.

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THE UNITED STATES

Mob justice in New York City

A hero to some, gangster John Gotti faces the trial of his life

There are yellow ribbons tied to the telephone poles, trees and indoor hostesses of the bawdy at John Gotti's New York City neighborhood. They signal that people in that mafioso, middle-class district of Bayside Beach in Queens want Gotti, now on trial for murder and reportedly the most influential mobster of his generation, to come home a free man. "The yellow ribbons are for Max," said a woman who lives across from the Gotti on 86th Street, but who declined to give her name. "To the kids, to everyone, he is a local hero." Deceit, the block, another resident, hesitated while evoking some of his car last week to echo that respect for the man whose swagger and stylish \$1,800 suits have earned him the nickname the Dapper Don. Gotti, and the man, who also withheld his name, keeps the arm safe and free of mirth. "Hill the neighborhood works for him," he claimed. "People have more problems with parking than they have with Gotti."

There is little to distinguish the Gotti residence from the many brick-faced houses of the Italian-American district. Like their neighbors, the Gottis have decorated their front lawns with ornaments, although they have avoided the small Jesus-and-Mary shrine favored by some for similar structures—of dolls. The only extravagance visible on the Gotti home is an enormous satellite dish on the roof. The only hints of concern for security are a surveillance camera peering off the roof and two dogs, a German shepherd and a bulldog, that growl at visitors from behind a backyard fence. And in the neighborhood, everybody is discreet when discussing the alleged don. "Benny," said Gotti's wife, Victoria, when she opened the door to a *Madison* reporter last week. "I know you're just trying to do your job. But I can't talk to you."

In recent weeks, however, some people close to the reputed mob boss have been talking. And what they have said is a federal district court in Brooklyn about John Joseph Gotti, 51, could send him to jail for the rest of his life. Few people were closer to him than Salvatore (Sonny the But) Gravano, 47, a consigliere Gotti lieutenant who has become the key witness against his former boss. Gravano, who was originally charged with racketeering along with Gotti in December 1990, agreed to testify at trial for having his own sentence reduced. Prosecutors hope that Gravano's testimony, coupled with extensive writings of conversations held between Gotti and members of New York's Gambino crime family, will secure a conviction on charges ranging from five members to extortion and income tax evasion.

Attempts to convict Gotti have failed before. Since December, 1985, when he allegedly took control of the Gambino family—which has



Gravano (left) and Gotti before they parted. (John backed and I bit)

enforced officials meet in the largest and richest Italian syndicate in the United States—he has been tried three times for violent crimes. On each occasion, he was acquitted. His elusiveness has enhanced his reputation as a man who can outwit law-enforcement officials. But prosecutors have not given up. The government's current case is an attempt to prove that Gotti ordered the cold-blooded assassination of his predecessor, Paul Castellano, in 1985. Still, for some New Yorkers, Gotti remains a beloved mobster. "They are trying to frame him, to let

a scapegoat," says a teenage boy who lives on Gotti's street. "I mean, he beat it three times. Can't you leave the guy alone?"

But Gotti is not the only actor in his neighborhood. In 1980, neighbor John Favara was driving near Gotti's Bayside Beach house when he accidentally struck and killed one of Gotti's five children, 12-year-old Frank, who had darted into the middle of the road on a bike. Four months later, while Gotti and his wife were vacationing in Florida, a witness saw a gang-accent Favara in a parking lot, club him over the head and spit him away in a van. No charges were ever laid. And Favara has not been seen since.

On Jan. 31, in a second-floor conference room in the federal district court in Brooklyn, Judge J. Leo Giosser began the arduous task of selecting the jury for the latest Gotti trial. More than 200 candidates were summoned during the three-week process. To counter the possibility of tampering, the court kept the identities of prospective jurors secret, and their approval was strictly anonymous. Many people summoned were deemed unsuitable to serve for reasons ranging from their disapproval of electronic taping to admitting previous knowledge of the case. With Gotti's attorney objecting the proceedings, still others expressed outright bias. One middle-aged man said that he was reluctant to leave his wife alone at home while he was sequestered. And a clergyman refused to testify. "My sister lives on Mulberry Street—John Gotti sort of knows her from the neighborhood," Beth was excused.

After 12 jurors were selected, the prosecution presented its opening argument on Feb. 12. In a 45-minute statement, U.S. Attorney Andrew Minkov and that he was confident that the videotapes—recorded by electronic bugs hidden by the FBI in a private apartment above the Gambino headquarters at the Riverside Hotel Club in Manhattan—would prove that Gotti and his remaining co-defendants, Frank Locascio, were guilty. Said Minkov: "This is not a complex case—these defendants will tell you in their own words what it's about." He added: "This is a case about a Mafia boss being brought down by his own words, his own right arm and, in the course of it, perhaps bringing down his whole family." Gotti remained stone-faced throughout much of Minkov's presentation, but did manage a smirk when the prosecuting attorney pointed at him with his left hand, cocked his thumb and jotted his index finger like the trigger of a pistol.

There was little in the early life of John Gotti to distinguish him from other petty hoodlums. The fifth of 13 children born in the South Bronx in 1940 to an immigrant couple from Naples, Gotti moved with his family to Brooklyn after the Second World War. There, he began a youth gang called the Pulver-Bloody Boys, and at 16 he quit school and became a leader. He met met Anello Dellacassa, a captain at the Gambino family, who encouraged Gotti's underworld aspirations. But through the 1960s, Gotti languished as a minor criminal, whose record included such petty crimes as public drunkenness. In 1969, he was jailed for a bungled attempt to lynch a shipment of women's garments from New York's Kennedy airport.

In 1973, after his release, Gotti resumed Dellacassa, who was then headquartered in the Began Hill & Fish Street Club in Dorset Park, in Queens. That same year, Gotti earned the grudging respect of Mafia boss John Gambino, whose nephew had been kidnapped by Irish gangsters and murdered. Gotti tracked down the alleged killer, James McManus, in a Staten Island bar and told him while another case that his dead. A grateful Gambino hired well-known lawyer Roy Cohn to defend Gotti. Finding guilty to manslaughter, he served two years in jail for the killing. His intervention up the Gambino family ladder had begun.

On Feb. 17, the Brooklyn jury members, wearing large black earplugs, began to listen to the FBI tapes, following along on transcripts provided by the prosecution. Lawbreakers played the recordings to the courtroom, but without the headlines the discussions were often drowned out by the traditional *Napoli* music that played on a radio in the Riverside apartment. The conversations contained references to underworld figures with names that could have come straight from a Dick Tracy comic strip—Pat Don, Ralphie Bones, Giuseppe and Jackie Rose. On one tape, recorded in 1984, Gotti outlined his close relationship

HALL OF INFAMY

The breakdown of American gangsters has fascinated the world for decades. If alleged Gambino crime boss John Gotti is convicted, he will join a who's who of underworld kingpins who ultimately failed to make justice among them.



AL (SCARFACE) CAPONE

Prohibition was Chicago gangster, controlled a \$100-million-a-year gambling, prostitution and bootlegging empire. Masterminded the 1929 St. Valentine's Day massacre of seven rival mobsters. Evaded numerous prosecution attempts, but sentenced to 11 years in 1931 for tax evasion. Released in 1935 on parole. Volunteered his death at 45 in Miami Beach in 1947.

CHARLES (LUCKY) LUCIANO

Icon Salvatore Luciano, involved in mug and extortion by 1920s, was killed in a mobster's office after surviving 1929 ice-pick attack. Ruled 1930s East Coast narcotics and gambling rackets. Often accompanied by call girls, saw his luck run out in 1936 when sentenced to 30 to 50 years on prostitution charges. Paroled in 1946 and deported to Italy. In 1961, he died at 65 of a heart attack in 1962.



VITO (DON VITO) GENOVESE

Onetime Luciano underboss in New York City, worked his way up into mafia, but fled to Italy in 1937 to escape prosecution for murder. Later returned to face trial, and was acquitted when a key witness was poisoned. Had several hit men murdered and became the "boss of bosses" in the 1950s. Convicted in 1962 on narcotics charges, he died at 71 of a heart attack in prison in 1969.

FRANK COSTELLO

Prohibition turn-over to New York, took control gambling and helped establish a national crime syndicate in the 1930s. Dubbed the "Prime Minister of the Underworld" by a Senate committee in 1957, while approving a tax evasion conviction, he narrowly survived an assassination attempt. Jailed in 1949 and released in 1961. Moved to Long Island, where he died in 1973 at 82.



JOSEPH C. BONANNO JR.

Better known as "Joe Bonanno," reputed head of the powerful New York family that ran loan sharking and narcotics operations throughout North America. Spurred a bloody gang war after alleged plotting to kill rival Mafia chiefs in 1964. Paroled out of East Coast penitentiary, he was jailed in 1980s for obstruction of justice. Freed in 1988, he is now 88 and lives in Arizona.

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with Giovanni. "Shoot as anything happens to me, Sanny is the acting boss," he said. It is a particularly strong bond. Gott warned his associates about taking openly in pieces where their words could be picked up by listening devices, insisting that he would stage anyone who dared as his presence to mention "La Cosa Nostra"—a term for the Mafia that means "this thing of ours" in Italian. "He did not [even] have to say Cosa Nostra," explained Gott. "Just 'La' and they go." And

Nearby, a taxi trouble shoots Dore. Park. From that elevated stage every July 4, with 101st Avenue blocked off to traffic by garbage Dumpsters, Gott employs an act of fireworks as part of the all-day celebration. The street party is conducted without city permits, but the police enforce Gott. Saul Ozone Park resident Helen Catania: "You can't beat a man who gets out fireworks like he does." She added "What a spread—hamburgers, frankfurters, chicken, spaghetti—and the kids can have all the ice



Reverend Bhatt's body at the scene of the shooting on the night of 10 July 1993.

when an underling told him that a rival had opened a competing gambling operation in the city, the accused Mafia don exploded: "You tell this punk, I, me, John Gott, will answer your question—very loud of."

Born in a black box office on the corner of 101st Avenue Park, a street marked the entrance to the "Biggest Street & Fish Street Club Inn," a five-story apartment building, which Gott bought in 1964. Gott lived in the building that was still in 1964. Gott lived in the building that was still in 1964. Gott lived in the building that was still in 1964.

Vince Scorsone, a spy actor roles, straddled past the Bergen last week, arms in his hands. "Eve," he said, he'll help you out, and Scorsone: "Everybody knows to him." Added Eve's Scorsone: "He takes care of his own. He only helps someone that does something to him."

crimes, seeds, cotton candy, free rides and games they want. That's why I want him for president." With Gott in jail another trial for independence they came possible reported T-shirts emblazoned: "We miss you, John."

But some supporters say that they worry about Gott's future. "He's a trouble maker," said restaurant owner Nick Dominato. On the wall above the counter where Gott often stopped for coffee is a framed newspaper account of his brother Peter Gott's recent reported on collecting charges. "Thank God for the jury system in this country," Peter Gott is quoted as saying. "That is all we have left."

On March 2, the jury in John Gott's trial began hearing trial testimony when "Sanny the Bull" took the stand. Giovanni had agreed to the plea bargain with authorities on Gott's 51st birthday in October. Now, sitting just 20 feet away, his former boss was a silent smile as Gott described him in the land of the Garbano crime organization. "John was the boss," he said in a hoarse voice. "And I was the underboss—I helped John run the family."

Giovanni attended to participating in 19 members since joining the Garbano family in 1955, claiming that Gott had personally appeared 10 of the "black-outs." He told the court that on Dec. 16, 1985, he sat in the passenger seat as Gott drove a Lincoln with tinted windows, stopping at a red light less than a block from Sperin Brook House in east midtown Manhattan. He also testified that at the intersection, another Lincoln, driven by Castellano's brother Thomas Blott, pulled up beside them. "I just turned and I told John they were right next to us," he said, adding that he then used a voice-tape to notify four gunmen waiting in ambush that "they were coming through." As Castellano's car pulled up to the restaurant, he said, "the shooters ran over to them and started shooting them." With Castellano and Blott dead on the pavement, he told the jury, Gott drove by slowly to see the bodies up close before speeding away. The reason for the hit, and Giovanni to allow Gott to assume leadership of the family.

Gott made the attempt to help his counterpart for the man betraying him. From across the defense table, he glared at his cousin's right-hand man. During cross-examination, Giovanni insisted that he had kept "a good legal secret" for Gott. "John looked real fat," he said. But in one during exchange with Gott's defense attorney, Scott Krugier, Gott repeated "nothing for legal."

Krugier is the society in which you grew up and which shaped your life, a person who is playing the role that you are playing at the present would be called a certain case, isn't that so? Giovanni: Probably. Krugier: And that came up? Giovanni: For a while. Krugier: Some other word? Giovanni: Not.

With legal counsel, Gott had once vowed to his friends that nothing would ever break up their gang, the winged angels in court, he is heard boasting. "This is gonna be a Cosa Nostra till I die. Be an hour from now, or be a couple, or 100 years from now when I'm 90, it's gonna be Cosa Nostra." But by turning on his boss, Giovanni shattered that solidarity, and placed Gott's fate in the hands of the Brooklyn jurors. Their decision will determine whether John Gott's legendary reputation for shoring corruption grows even larger—or comes to a sudden, perhaps permanent, end.

SCOTT STEELE and BRUCE WALLACE with WILSON STAFFORD in New York City

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Mexican workers assemble parts for General Motors in Chihuahua; debate over North American content rules

BUSINESS

TALKING TRADE

NEGOTIATIONS IN NORTH AMERICA AND EUROPE MUST STILL RESOLVE A NUMBER OF THORNY ISSUES

One after another, during a stormy session of Parliament last week, opposition members angrily worked on each-thick document and demanded its contents as a betrayal of Canada's industry. The papers were copies of the negotiating positions presented by Canadian, American and Mexican trade negotiators at a meeting held in Dallas in February. "This document," declared deputy Liberal leader Sheila Copps, "will give out, far more in Quebec and across Canada." Stunned International Trade Minister Michael

Wlasiuk, "I have not seen that document. My spouse, that may be the Liberal's policy on pharmaceuticals in 1999, far as I know." In fact, government officials insisted that the papered draft of the proposed North American free trade agreement (NAFTA) represented only preliminary discussions.

Indeed, negotiations for the three countries involved continued last week to reflect the latest draft of the proposed agreement during meetings in Washington. At the same time, in Europe, representatives from 236 countries made progress toward lowering trade barriers through a revised General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). In Ottawa, meanwhile, international trade experts said that both sets of negotiations could be completed as early as April 15. In light of the thorny issues involved in the NAFTA and GATT talks, however, and with the United States preoccupied with the presidential election campaign, that timetable likely remained in doubt.

Two factors may determine whether the NAFTA talks reach an early resolution. One is the issue of the draft of the agreement on the part of Mexico. Political President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, whose political platform is focused largely

on integrating Mexico into the modern trading world. Said William Meritt, the former deputy chief U.S. negotiator at the Canada-U.S. free trade talks: "If the Mexicans want it, they are willing to do it. They are willing to do it. I think it can be done very quickly."

But even a draft agreement that satisfies negotiators for all three countries is not a guarantee of approval by Congress this year. Under American law, that country's administration must give Congress 90 calendar days' notice of its intent to enter into any trade agreement. That would push the presentation of an agreement to Congress at least to late July. Congress then has another 60 working days to examine the legislation before voting on it. The distinction is critical, with a summer break and a fall campaign, Congress may not complete its examination of the trade deal before the November election.

Not to it clear that Ottawa will consent to terms that are agreed on by Washington and Mexico City. For his part, Wlasiuk declared last month that "there will be no deal unless it is a good one for Canada." According to Meritt, "Canada will be faced with either going to be

as Mexico seems prepared to go, or walking away from the table. I am not convinced Canada is going to be there at the end of the day." For their part, Mexican negotiators insist that they are not willing to make major sacrifices just to reach a deal. Mexico's deputy chief negotiator in Ottawa, Antonio Xiang, told Meritt: "We will not make concessions. If the American timing means it is next year, that only means our economic integration is postponed."

If an accord is reached, its immediate effect could be mixed. Canada's two-way trade with Mexico was only \$2.2 billion in 1990, compared with an \$193.4-billion trade with the United States. Still, NAFTA could probably affect many key Canadian industries. Among those most likely to be affected



Automotive: The Americas' most car

and truck manufacturers in Canada and Mexico is to increase the North American content of their vehicles to 60 per cent from 55. Canadian parts manufacturers support that position. Opposed are Japanese auto companies, including Honda, that have plants in Canada but sell only on some Japanese export markets. Also opposed are North American automakers that have joint ventures with American car companies. In 1990, exports of Canadian cars, trucks and parts to the United States reached \$32.6 billion. The industry employs about 320,000 people.



Telecommunications: In Mexico, it can now take up to a year to have a telephone installed—

a situation that holds out close opportunities for such Canadian goods as Northern Telecom. But NAFTA might also open Bell Canada and its regional counterparts to stiff domestic competition for residential and business long-distance service from American companies that include Sprint, MCI and AT&T. A new GATT agreement could make it easier for Canadian telecommunications companies to provide services and equipment to government-owned telephone companies around the world. About 121,000 Canadians work in the industry.



Banking: Is addition to access to Mexico's highly protected financial markets, NAFTA could

give Canadian bankers the opening into the U.S. market that they longed to get under free trade. Along with the Mexicans, they are seeking the removal of various restrictions on the delivery of the United States. That means thousands of jobs, including in the balance, negotiators in the latest trade rounds are unlikely to treat any of the issues as a long-range matter.

association. "We have very little to trade with. We have given away most of what we could possibly use as levers." Banking employs about 110,000 people in Canada.



Textiles and fashion: Already

fraying the rifts, the industry could face further losses as a deal with Mexico. American negotiators are insisting that all clothing, in order to qualify for free trade under NAFTA, will have to contain material and fibres manufactured solely in North America. That was a severe blow to the Canadian industry, which has carved out a lucrative niche for itself by selling fashions made of imported fibres to American buyers. Estimates of job losses are as high as half of the 100,000 people employed in making clothing. Sall Streiten Bertha, executive director of the Canadian Apparel Manufacturers' Institute, "Competing with the Americans on the basis of American fabrics and Mexican labor is not a competition we can win."



Agriculture: Both sides and

an essential part of the deal. It is aimed at sweeping changes for Canadian farmers. Terms being discussed in Europe by multinational trade negotiators could force Canada to abandon its existing system of managing domestic supply of dairy products, poultry and eggs in favor of protective tariffs, which would gradually be reduced. Poultry and dairy producers view the possible change as a threat because of fears that consumers will balk at tariffs as high as 300 per cent, which they say may be necessary to protect the domestic producers. At the same time, Canada's grain and oilseed farmers may profit if a GATT agreement eliminates subsidies paid to U.S. and European competitors. Most of Canada's 30,000 poultry and dairy farms are in Quebec and Ontario; the bulk of 110,000 grain farms are in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.

One sector in Italy to be immune to the effects of other agreement, Canadian officials say that the country's cultural industries are on target under discussion of the NAFTA rules. The current GATT negotiations do not include cultural industries.

Indeed, former American free trade negotiator Peter Murphy acknowledged to a Montreal audience last week that the United States could easily see the fita negotiations that Canada would never accept as a demand for more U.S. access to its broadcasting, recording, film-making and publishing industries. Still, Murphy said, American negotiators continued to demand access as a bargaining chip for other concessions, while privately considering the issue to be "red lines." That means thousands of jobs, including in the balance, negotiators in the latest trade rounds are unlikely to treat any of the issues as a long-range matter.

NANCY WOOD with E. KAREY PULTON in Ottawa

Business Notes

MOVING BACK ON BEER

OTTAWA took a major step towards eliminating imports from local brewers to beer, tomorrow, that it will open its market to brewers in other provinces that agree to similar rules for Ontario brewers. At week's end, no other province had rejected Ontario's offer, but a provincial spokesman said that also rejected that term from across Canada would be another beer-store shelves by the summer.

OPEN SKIES AHEAD

After three days of talks in Toronto as a new bilateral air services treaty, Canadian negotiators concluded that American airlines will need a phase-in period before U.S. airlines are granted unrestricted access to the Canadian market. Once a treaty is signed, Canadian airlines will be free to open routes to and from U.S. cities. Talks were scheduled to resume in Washington in May.

GM REACHES A DEAL

General Motors of Canada Ltd. and the Canadian Auto Workers reached a tentative agreement on mandatory overtime that the automaker and union saw these words of jobs. The arrangement depends on the company allocating new work to its two Ontario, Oshawa, plants after 1994. It would allow GM to meet its goal of increasing productivity at the factories, which employ more than 14,000 workers.

OPENING UP THE OIL PATCH

Energy Minister Jean Yves announced that Ottawa will shorten its policy of 50-per-cent Canadian ownership in the oil industry, allowing U.S. acquisitions of oil-and-gas companies worth up to \$150 million without review by Investment Canada. Takeovers by investors from other nations will be reviewed at \$5 million.

PENNIES FROM NINE

Canadians over \$5 will receive an extra 37 cents from the federal government, starting this month, when 66-age pensioners rise to \$254.44 a month. It is the smallest increase since 1970, when it was tied to the inflation rate. 15 years ago.

PUNCH RIZZLES OUT

Punch a British sailor weekly that has paid for its past 126 years and the Royal Family for the past 154 years, announced that it will close next month because of poor sales and losses of about \$2 million in 1991. A spokesman for United Newspapers, which owns the magazine, said that it was "a victim of changing tastes in Britain."

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ASKS FOR HELP IN
EASING ITS DEBT

Just after one o'clock each weekday afternoon, an Orthodox rabbi convenes a prayer meeting at the headquarters of the world's most powerful real estate developer. The strict daily observance is just one of the factors that have convinced the nation's financiers—Albert, Paul and Ralph, the Richman brothers—with fast talk, flamboyant displays of wealth and sometimes bawling lectures, the three men have been widely revered as astute, wise and trustworthy. Last week, however, that image was shaken as reports exploded in major financial capitals that the secretive family business is tottering under the weight of an estimated \$23-billion debt. By week's end, the Richmans had relinquished sole direction of Olympia & York Developments Ltd. (O&Y), the private building company at the centre of their Toronto-based empire, and were close to becoming tenants in one of their own buildings. The shock raised some financial questions—although it confirmed the more skeptical judgment of some others. Said Ira Gluskin, a veteran Toronto investment counselor and former real estate analyst, "The rights of the Richmans is the greatest one of our time. The only surprise is how long people have bought it." Added Gluskin to his fellow analysts: "They really want to believe the Richmans talk to God."

The Richmans' creditors neatly asserted

Paul Richman with his model of Canary Wharf appealing to bankers



their very secular influence over debt-strengthened Olympia & York. A group of banks led by the Canada Imperial Bank of Commerce, which had lent the Richmans an estimated \$750 million, usually arranged a temporary loan of about \$400 million to meet the company's immediate cash needs. Then, bankers and other lenders formed a committee to oversee the restructuring of O&Y's enormous borrowings—an amount equivalent to the entire national debt of Chile. Alerted to O&Y's situation by the bankers, Federal Finance Minister Donald Mazowicki said that the government was prepared to help the Richmans "rehabilitate" their finances.

Outlets: In midweek, Paul Richman himself stepped into as president of the company that the brothers founded in 1955, raising eyebrows at an outsider, former New York City banking executive Thomas Johnson, to assume control of O&Y's finances (page 36). Johnson acted quickly, meeting with representatives of 35 major Richman creditors—including Allen Taylor, chairman of the Royal Bank of Canada, and Donald Pollock, chairman of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce—in Toronto just two days after his appointment. At that meeting, he reportedly sought assurances that the lenders would relieve the immediate pressure on the company by not demanding debt repayments coming due before another meeting scheduled for April 4. Then, Johnson flew to London for a similar meeting with O&Y's British lenders.

But even in Johnson was meeting with the Richmans' Toronto lenders, the family was already reshuffling some of its assets. In a move that took some observers by surprise, elder brother Albert Richman purchased O&Y's 65-per-cent stake in Toronto-based CanWest Corp. That company, the remnant of the fallen Canpar real estate empire, has assets worth more than \$400 million, including real estate in Ottawa and a 15-per-cent

interest in a California grocery chain. And in a separate move, the family transferred title to one of its Toronto holdings, the waterfront Queen's Quay Terminal, from O&Y to a separate corporation, 49 Real Estate Investments.

In fact, most analysts say that despite their recent woes, the Richmans still control assets that outweigh their liabilities. Indeed, the Richmans' holdings, estimated to be worth about \$34 billion, range from investments in transportation, energy and forestry to real estate in 29 North American and European cities (page 36).

But after more than three decades of unparalleled success, the family is now plainly on the defensive. One reason is its ambitious \$7-billion plan to transform the old docklands area of east London into a glittering commercial center (page 37). But financial experts say that the family's passion for privacy may have contributed even more to its present problems, as rumors of trouble at O&Y swept through money markets wrecked by any detailed data about the Richmans' holdings.

Those rumors were at odds with the Richman image that prevailed throughout the

nation's third-largest oil-and-gas producer, Gulf Canada Resources Ltd. of Calgary, in 1985. Then, in 1987, through Gulf Canada they acquired their first stake in interprovincial Pipe Lines Ltd. of Calgary, one of the continent's largest pipeline concerns. They also acquired interests in several other real estate companies, including Trizec Ltd. of Calgary.

Not all of the takeover moves were friendly. In 1988, the family won a protracted—and costly—battle for control of Chicago-based Santa Fe Pacific Corp., a conglomerate with holdings that include a railroad and an extensive real estate portfolio.

Towers: None of the Richmans' campaign, however, has carried as much risk as the petroproject they named Canary Wharf project—three tall and daring 71-store developments in east London's former docklands. Delay obstacles that had discouraged a series of other developers from undertaking a project in the area, the Richmans began construction in 1987 of a 28-building complex of office towers, stores and parking. Convinced that London would become the financial centre of a

COUNTDOWN TO CRISIS

Warning signs have flashed over the Richmans' empire for more than a year.

Selected setbacks:



1980s. As the decade began, the Richmans role as a major force in the real estate purchase of eight office buildings in Manhattan in 1977—a time when that city was approaching insolvency. Shortly after the Richmans purchase, New York began to rebound and their property, bought at bargain-basement prices, started to value them. Then, in 1981, the brothers completed the midtown \$1.2-billion World Financial Center development on the Manhattan waterfront, securing their reputation as real estate warriors.

Even as workers put the finishing touches on that project, the family was branching out beyond real estate. Placed with a steady flow of cash from rents on their expanding properties, the Richmans went on a buying spree. In quick succession, they took control of the world's largest pulp-and-paper company, Abitibi-Price Inc. of Toronto, as well as

united Europe, Paul Richman declared that "every Wall Street analyst would be right as 'legions' New York." Added the normally down developer: "That was the exciting part that I could not resist." Since then, the family has pumped \$3 billion into the project, completing almost half of the planned office space. But even Britain's 1980s boom turned into a recession and Europe's real estate market a more distant prospect, say, has struggled to find tenants for its development—the largest and most expensive in Europe.

The full extent of the Richmans' family's problems may not become clear until as creditors force a complete accounting of its debts. What is already plain, however, is that the lingering effects of the 1980s boom and the recession of 1990 and 1991 have unraveled the Richmans' two-pronged strategy. In Toronto, London and New York, a range of building

late into last decade left an empty moray of unaided office space and deeply depressed commercial rents (page 41). At the same time, the economic slump has reduced prices for the resource-based commodities that Gird and Alstom-Procter produce, cutting deep into the earnings of both companies. As a result, the Rockmans found it increasingly difficult to raise the large amounts of cash they need to service their existing debt, as well as to finance the continuing construction at Canary Wharf.

Observers confirm, as indicated, that the Rockmans also retained a cautious role in successful real estate development by financing their long-term projects with volatile short-term loans. Much of the money that they have raised from unsecured commercial paper, debt that is normally renewed every 60 or 90 days. But as rumors about OAT's financial difficulties began to circulate a global money market, private lenders insisted on reducing their loans, not renewing them. Said one venture dealer, who requested anonymity: "I've never seen a situation worse than that of the Rockmans. They didn't gradually abandon the market—they were closed out of it."

At the same time, investors included such as British-owned companies—stripping \$36 million from their market value in a single day last month. **Signed:** With its sources of liquid capital reduced, the Rockmans left little choice but to spend in their lenders for relief. Among the banks that have already loaned money to the Rockmans are all of Canada's Big Five except the Toronto-Dominion, which took the unusual step of issuing a statement to publicize its lack of involvement in OAT's debt.

As well, as many as 90 other international banks may have loaned money to the brothers' projects. Last week, however, as Johnson began to negotiate new debt-employment schedules, a spokesman for the federal superintendent of financial institutions reassured Canadian consumers that whatever the outcome, it would not threaten the standing of the



Glasgow: shattering the 'myth of the Rockmans'

country's banks. Said Nancy Maughey: "We have some of the best-capitalized financial institutions in the world. If they were burned, they would be wiped—but they would not go up in flames."

That also seems to be the case with the

Rockmans themselves. According to asset analysts, the panic reaction that led many creditors to bail out of OAT commercial paper was largely exaggerated, because all the loans are secured against solid assets. At the same time, the value of those assets, by most estimates, probably exceeds the Rockmans' total liabilities. The task facing Johnson is to maneuver out through as short-term crisis in available cash.

In the longer term, the most painful consequence for the exclusive brokers may be the intense public scrutiny of their affairs. It is an examination that they have fiercely avoided in the past. As a private company owned entirely by the three brothers, OAT did not release detailed financial statements. And so long as the brothers are behind the many of its underwritten success, lenders often sought little more than a handshake before approving assistance for the family's projects. Said one banker: "The Rockmans were the exception to every rule. You were a lawyer if you didn't have some of their debt on your books."

Fear: But when doubts arose about OAT's financial soundness, the policy of secrecy compounded the problems. Londoners realized, for example, that they had an extremely restricted view of the company. In the absence of reassuring information, many of them became very nervous. Said Steven Kessler, financial services analyst with Midland Walwyn Capital Inc. in Toronto: "Especially when the members are missing, the initial fear is bottomless."

The Rockmans' aversion to providing financial data appears to have worked against them in other ways, as well. One of Canada's two credit-rating agencies declined to publish reports on much of their short-term debt. Said Maria Rockman, a credit analyst with Canada's Bond Rating Services Ltd. in Montreal: "You have to guess at the truth. It's just too difficult to determine and monitor values."

Now, however, the Rockmans have little choice but to divulge the full extent of their commitments and property, as creditors continue to search for assets to renege or sell. And the brothers who guard secrets of their empire in acquiring prime projects at depressed prices in the last recession may now be forced to sell some of their most prized assets at depressed prices during the current downturn. Indeed, the building that houses OAT's head office, as well as the Toronto Stock Exchange, has already been pledged to lenders in 1990 and 1991, even though the 1990 approval pegged the value of the 36-story building at more than \$30 million. That is only the first of what is certain to be an extensive list of repossessions of the assets—personal as well as financial—of the three very private men whose decisions once did seem about to be greatly guided.

DEBORAH MCNEILLY

DIAMOND IN THE ROUGH

CAN CANARY WHARF PAY ITS OWN WAY?

It was supposed to be the palatial headquarters for the new European economic center—a \$1-billion jewel along from the developer's former headquarters of east London. Development plans for Canary Wharf included 24 buildings, including three marble-clad office towers, and 20 acres of parks and promenades along the River Thames. At the center of the project was to be its crowning glory: Canada Square, a 50-story pyramid-topped tower and the tallest skyscraper in Britain. Because of its dramatic proportions and its location five kilometers east of London's financial district, known as the City, Londoners have dubbed the merits of Canary Wharf ever since construction began in 1987. Last week, that debate took on a new urgency when the Rockman brothers of Toronto acknowledged for the first time that they are in the midst of a painful financial squeeze.

Awkward: Although the family has jealously guarded all information about its privately owned building empire, Olympia & York Developments Ltd., it has been unable to conceal the fact that its most ambitious real estate venture is under acute pressure. So far, the Rockmans have spent \$3.9 billion to construct the first 4.7 million square feet of Canary Wharf—including Canada Square. They will need an estimated \$230 million more to finish the project. As well, they owe Morgan Stanley & Co. \$365 million as a result of an earlier underwriting to buy back one of the Canary Wharf buildings that the New York City investment banker initially financed. But according to at least one Canadian analyst, Canary Wharf is not yet carrying the cost of what has already been spent on it. Toronto-based Dominion Bond Rating Services Ltd. estimates that OAT needs \$100 million a year to service its existing Canary Wharf debt, which the rating service says is more than the complex is generating for the Rockmans in rental revenues. Although major tenants, including American Express Ltd., Bear Stearns Interna-

tional and Telecom Ltd., have rented 60 per cent of Canary Wharf's first phase, the likelihood of the complex attracting additional occupants soon is low. Since the Rockmans first disclosed plans for Canary Wharf in 1987, vacancy rates in London have soared to 15 per cent from three per cent. In all, London analysts estimate that 16 million square feet of office space is vacant in the City. Its story with rising



Canary Wharf's Cabot Square by night: 875 parking and an hour-long commute to the City

vacancy rates, City office rents have fallen to an annual average of about \$35 per square foot from a high of \$143 in 1986. That compares with Canary Wharf's prevailing rate of about \$62 per square foot.

Nervy: At the same time, there has been intense rivalry among London's landlords for the few new tenants entering the market. In fact, the Rockmans own shares in two London developers whose newly opened Broadgate and Ludgate projects have managed to attract some of the same prime tenants that had been tagged for Canary Wharf. Among them: the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which passed over Canary Wharf in favor of the Broadgate development. A further setback could occur if Britain's April 9 general election results in the toppling of the Tory government, which actively encouraged

the Rockmans' exclusive development and is expected eventually to occupy up to 10 per cent of Canary Wharf.

And there are other clouds over the elegant white towers and curved walls of Canary Wharf—namely the difficulty that many construction companies are getting to and from the end-of-the-way location on the Isle of Dogs. The Docklands Light Railway, which operates as a monorail, is considered to be unreliable and inadequate to handle the 3,000 workers who already travel daily to the complex. The main road to the site is frequently clogged, and it can take more than an hour to travel the seven kilometers between central London and Canary Wharf. Parking at the complex, meanwhile, runs to \$75 a day. One possible solution is a \$1.8-billion extension to the existing Jubilee line of the London Underground. But that is unlikely to begin until the Rockmans fulfill an undertaking to contribute \$400 million to the project's cost—with \$22.3 million of that amount due this week.

Not all has gone amiss for Canary Wharf. For one thing, the Rockmans have found a friend-



ly ally and tenant in fellow Canadian Cabot Black. The financier, who owns London's Daily Telegraph newspaper, recently moved its editorial and administrative offices to Canary Wharf from elsewhere in east London. And for his part, John Zaritsky, vice-president of Marsh-Barclay Hauser Corp., which moved 1,000 employees to Canary Wharf from its ancient buildings around London, said: "We are able to bring together our London operations in a single building for the first time."

In fact, most analysts say that Canary Wharf will one day fulfill even the Rockmans' soaring hopes for it. But the challenge facing the family now is to retain control of it until that day arrives.

DEBORAH MCNEILLY with JACOB NISSE in London

THE OUTSIDER TAKES CHARGE

Thomas Johnson once made a unusual claim for a banker: that he had never traveled in taxis. Last week, however, some outside analysts said that Johnson has many of the attributes that he will need in his new position as president of Olympia & York Developments Ltd., the Rockman family's private building company. Johnson, 49, principal tutor to structures down to 123 billion of OAT debt. As the former president of two of the seven largest banks in Toronto, Johnson has already been closely with most of the chief executives he will be dealing with.

Johnson, who with his wife of 22 years, Ann, has three teenage children, clearly seems to operate from a position of authority in December, 1989, when he returns as president of New York City-based Chemical

Banking Corp. He left to take the same title at national Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co., where he was promoted that he would succeed the chairman. But when the two banks merged last July, Johnson's two former bosses took over the top positions at the new venture. At the old Chemical "bald man out" he resigned.

The son of a successful Wisconsin lawyer-father, Johnson was raised in a Roman Catholic, graduated to 1964 from Harvard and moved to the Philippines, where he taught insurance for two years before returning to Washington as an assistant controller in the defense department. After he joined the Chemical Bank in 1969, the experience developed an expertise as arranging the exchange of debt for equity. It is a skill that he may need to use in his new position, as he searches the way to restructure OAT's large debt and enormous assets into a form that the company can afford to sustain—and its lenders can accept.

A \$34-BILLION CORPORATE GIANT

VAST AND VARIED FAMILY HOLDINGS

Above, Paul and Ralph Reichman's first Canadian venture was a modest tile-and-marble importing business that they established in Toronto in the late 1950s. Within a decade, they had expanded into real estate development, founding Olympia and York Developments Ltd. as the anchor of their expanding fortune. Over the next 15 years, the brothers extended their reach to New York and other North American markets. Their strategy: buy inexpensive land and construct elegant buildings on it, a formula that eventually made one of the world's largest privately held real estate companies, with 45 million square feet of office space in the United States and Canada. In the 1980s, the brothers diversified their resources, energy and transportation, buying controlling interests in some of Canada's largest corporations. But with their most ambitious undertaking, London's \$1-billion Canary Wharf, draining the family of cash, the Reichman-owned 1990 leveraged buyout of some of their corporate assets.



ASSETS SOLD

Over the past two years, Ory has sold numerous corporate assets to help finance other projects that the company is involved in. Some of the unloaded assets:

DECEMBER, 1990—An 89.3 per cent stake in Consumers' Gas Co. Ltd. sold to British Gas plc for \$1.3 billion.

JANUARY, 1991—A working interest in the Cardston, Alta. gas field sold to Shell Canada Resources Ltd. for \$115 million.

FEBRUARY, 1991—A 5 per cent stake in Allied Lyons Inc. sold to British broker Barclays de Zoete Wedd Securities Ltd. for about \$1 billion.

OCTOBER, 1991—U.S.-based assets of Edmonton-based Interprovincial Pipe Line Ltd. sold to a U.S.-based limited partnership for \$672 million.

MARCH, 1992—Announced that a 53.5 per cent stake in Interprovincial Pipe Line Ltd., valued at \$955 million, would be sold to the public later this year for \$26 a share.

MAJOR REAL ESTATE HOLDINGS



CANADA

Toronto holdings include the Exchange Tower, First Canadian Place and Scotia Plaza (above). As well, Ory owns 15 other office buildings in Toronto and 14 more in other Canadian cities, including the Bell Canada building in Ottawa, the City Centre building in Edmonton and the Esso Place in Calgary.



UNITED STATES

The crown jewel of the Reichman's U.S. holdings is the World Financial Center in New York City (right). The family also owns 11 other Manhattan office buildings and as many again in other U.S. cities, including buildings in Boston, Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Dallas and Orlando, Fla.



BRITAIN

The Reichman's Canary Wharf project in east London is the largest urban development in the world. Spread over 71 acres along the River Thames, original plans for the development called for 33 buildings—all of which are complete—and 10.5 million square feet of office space.

ON HOLD



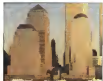
JAPAN

The family has also put aside plans to help build the \$130-billion Tokyo Teletop Tower, a complete new downtown for Tokyo.



RUSSIA

In January the Reichman's shelved plans to build the talked-up seaport in Moscow. The estimated value of this project, \$250 million.



MAJOR PORTFOLIO HOLDINGS

GULF CANADA RESOURCES LTD.



Canada's third-largest oil producer and fifth-largest natural-gas producer.

1991 Revenue: \$796 million **Net loss:** \$23 million
Debt: \$1.1 billion **Estimated value:** \$144 million
Reichman holdings: 75 per cent

ABITIBI-PRICE INC.



The world's largest newspaper producer, with 10 mills producing 15 per cent of the world's supply.

1991 Revenue: \$559.1 million **Net loss:** \$75.9 million
Debt: \$384.6 million **Estimated value:** \$231 million
Reichman holdings: 82 per cent

TRIZEC CORP. LTD.

North America's largest publicly traded real estate developer, whose projects include Canada Place in Vancouver and the Scarborough Town Centre east of Toronto.

1991 Revenue: \$1.4 billion **Profit:** \$62 million
Debt: \$9.3 billion **Estimated value:** \$362 million
Reichman holdings: 35 per cent



SANTA FE PACIFIC CORP.



A U.S. railway conglomerate and holding company.

1991 Revenue: \$2.7 billion
Profit: \$113.8 million
Debt: \$2.1 billion
Estimated value: \$484 million
Reichman holdings: 35 per cent



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The death of the Reichmanns' dream

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

The Reichmann companies will survive, the Reichmann family dream is dead.

There was an impossible agenda to build the world's largest real estate conglomerate, concentrated in the world's financial capital, yet to own and run it like a corner general store. What this otherwise apparently guaranteed there was the most valuable commodity in their lexicon of personal priorities: total privacy. It's the great irony of their career: financial control that even though their company will survive, their compulsion for secrecy will not.

To refinance their \$23-billion debt, the bankers will extract a commitment from the three brothers that they begin to sell equity to the family firm. That will mean the distribution of quarterly and annual reports—and public access to the Reichmanns' balance sheets.

They will have to elect real boards of directors instead of relying on family members to fill the seats. Up to now, the Reichmann brothers (Albert, Paul and David) and their wives held the shares in Olympia & York—and while she was alone, their mother, Bertha, chaired the board (Crever Ebyco, the Bay Street branch, recalls negotiating a deal with the Reichmanns under which they agreed to share ownership at Transco, one of Peter Reichmann's property companies. Whenever his response was reached, Paul and Albert would excuse themselves, step outside their office door and come back 30 seconds later with a little smile, saying that they'd just had a board meeting and come to a decision.)

The Reichmann obsession with secrecy was legendary. For the first 15 years after his company became a major player, Paul refused to have his picture taken, so that competitors and magazines had to do with a 1965 candid grabshot taken by a Toronto *Globe* and *Mail* photographer. When Paul spent grandiose photography sessions in 1981 paid for by his wife's parents (that of Toronto's *Globe* and *Mail* and *Country* Club, he spent nearly two hours being belated a pillar as he wouldn't be seen—and at the end of the

their original purchases. There's nothing very shameful about that, but for the Reichmanns it will be humiliating to have to acknowledge that they are governed by the same laws and business cycles as lesser members of the real estate developer's breed.

One reason why they were always thought to be special was their religion. Orthodox Jews, the Reichmanns were scrupulous and eschewed the ritual of the Sabbath at home and at work. All their construction contracts called for sites to be closed from sundown Fridays to sundown Saturdays. Because adherents to their rigid faith are not allowed to operate electrical devices during the Sabbath, the brothers installed a special elevator in their mother's eight-story Toronto house, which opened every ten minutes without any buttons having to be pushed.

Although they live relatively modestly, the Reichmanns are, on the appropriate occasion, big lavish spenders. At a family wedding reception, the 1,000 guests were greeted by a very special spectacle: At each table was a bouquet of white roses, carefully arranged so the flowers would burst into full bloom during the party.

The Reichmanns' climb from financial obscurity was breathtakingly rapid. Their first major breakthrough was the 1974 erection of First Canada Place, the Bank of Montreal's 72-floor business head office in the heart of Toronto's financial district. It was built at a time when the city's skyline started rising down town construction to a height of 45 feet. The building's quality became a landmark for future Reichmann projects. (Part of a mansion in Italy—the same one where Michelangelo found the marble for his classic *Piety*—was quarried to provide the 16 miles of white stone for the structure's base and interior.)

Their 1977 purchase (the \$50 million down) of eight New York City skyscrapers that shortly afterwards became worth \$1.5 billion opened the book visits to them so that they could spread the incredible story of having virtually eliminated credit lines. That was why they never had to share their personal equity position; their empire was sponsored and expanded entirely by debt—\$33 billion of it by far, with the carry-over record stopped.

One of the debacles the Reichmanns erected to borrow their money was to diversify into non-real-estate holdings, such as oil (Oxyd) and paper (Albello). But these economic ventures began to bleed at the same time as their property holdings, so that they dragged down the value of the Reichmann portfolio by as much as \$100 million a week during the past two months.

Their biggest mistake was to lead fellow property developer Robert Campeau the equivalent of \$225 million and virtually lose it all. The loss was hard to understand since it was Campeau himself that received Royal Trust from Campeau's group in 1980, and they knew what kind of money he'd be told.

That the mighty Reichmann brothers have had to abandon their dream of secrecy was a sign of how tough the economic times really are. No one is invincible.

PEOPLE

PASSION IN WINNIPEG

Canadian novelist Hugh MacLennan once wrote an article entitled "Boy Meets Girl in Winnipeg and Who Cares?" Apparently Carol Shields does. Her latest novel, *Repent at Love*, is a romance that is set in her adopted city. And the book has already won more reviews on both sides of the Atlantic. The American-born Shields said that she expected her worldly international publishers to question her decision to set the novel in Winnipeg—and was even prepared to defend her choice. But she now relishes the issue.



Shields: new reviews for a chilling new novel

Border-hopper

Considerably perched on top of Canadian pop-music charts is Roxanne's second album. And Jada is enjoying the success—although from a distance. While she has been living in Los Angeles for the past 20 years, the ground-swell star says that Montreal is "much more sophisticated, much more elegant." But the 1989 Juno Award winner, who is at the start of a 13-city Canadian tour, also wants people to realize that "we're all beauty the same underneath the skin." She adds: "I think we should all be world citizens. I hate this border crap."



Jada: "I hate this border crap"

Applications of self-help love

Marionette Williamson says that her goal is simple: to cure the life of the 20th century. And her recently released book, *A Return to Love*, attempts just that. By explaining what she calls the "practical application of

love," Williamson, 39, says that people can lead more peaceful and effective lives. And apparently others agree. With a host of faithful winners that includes record mogul David Geffen, Cher and Elizabeth Taylor, the diminutive Williamson has become America's most successful

Williamson: a helping hand



Pikes (Potvin, far right): 'people now know us by name'

Swimming straight to the top

Saddition rocks! The Northern Pikes are in the middle of a two-month American tour, opening for veteran English guitarists Peter Frampton. And the group's star is undoubtedly on the rise. The Pikes' third album, *Swim* (Jive), has sold 170,000 copies in Canada alone, and the group has booked up acts including David Byrne and The Pixies. Indeed, Pikes guitarist Bryan Potvin says that "people now know us by name." Added Potvin, 25: "One day, someone said to me, 'You look like the guy from The Northern Pikes.' I just smiled and walked away."

SWINGING A HOT STICK

Sleepy-eyed Fred Couples lapses around golf courses looking like a man in search of a hammock. But the barmy handsome pro from Seattle, whose easy swing belies his power, is a formidable talent. Nicknamed "Broom Bro" by his Professional Golf Association peers, Couples won two tournaments and \$840,365 in prize money in his first eight starts in 1992, as well as claiming the No. 1 spot on the money international golf rankings. In the past month, in his first finish with or better in 29 of 32 tournaments, But Couples, who is scheduled to play the Canadian Open in September, laughs off suggestions that he is the world's best player. Said Couples, 32: "I'm far from it. You've got to do more than I've been doing."



self-help guru since Werner Erhard and his est movement swept through Middle America in the 1970s. In fact, when Williamson appeared on the popular talk show *Oprah*, host Oprah Winfrey purchased 1,000 copies of the volume to distribute to her audience. Declared an emotional Winfrey: "I have never been as moved by a book."

A DEATH IN THE FAMILY

Howard Dill of Windsor, N.S., once interviewed by Barbara From about his prize pumpkins, recalled "She was one that didn't hold anything back, she came out with whatever was on her mind." CBC chairman Patrick Watson said that "she was so amazed by the skills and capacities of others that she could never see herself as a star." Last week, when the host of the CBC's flagship documentary show, *The Journal*, died of complications arising from leukemia, tributes poured in from across Canada, from the obscure and the famous. From's death at 64 ended a 19-year radio and television career that set new standards for broadcast journalism and made her one of the country's best-known and most respected figures.

Although a well-known her family and close friends knew it, the Niagara Falls, N.Y.-born From had battled leukemia for most of her professional life—she was first diagnosed in 1974, only a year after she began her rise to national prominence as host of the CBC's national radio current-affairs program, *As It Happens*. But the not came suddenly. On March 16, she experienced another leukemia relapse. Rather, who said afterward that she thought she had been running a fever. That night, From entered hospital, where she remained until the weekend of March 22, when she was allowed to go home. Journal executive producer Mack Staronowicz said that her husband, Murray, a real estate developer, phoned to say that From was "really feeling much better and should be on the air in a week or two." But at midnight, she returned to Toronto's General Hospital, where she died at 12:05 a.m. on Thursday.

For the persistent, knowledgeable and sometimes abrasive interviewer who hosted 2,800 *Journal* episodes for an audience that ultimately reached 1.3 million, the praise was predictably lavish. Peter Gosselin, host of CBC Radio's *Morningdrive*, said From was "an example for everybody who ever tried to do an interview." Peter Mansbridge, host of *The National*, said that "The vast majority of Canadians, Barbara From was the CBC's Peter Jennings, the Canadian-born anchor of *Monday Night News Tonight*, said that "I always got the



**BARBARA FROM
WAS A UNIQUE
AND POWERFUL
FORCE IN
CANADIAN
JOURNALISM**

that setting but it wasn't, because her dedication was real." After he moved to Vancouver, Newman said, he returned to Toronto from case to case and had dinner with Barbara and her husband. "I would have preferred to talk about the Toronto scene, but she would literally deflect me about what was going on in British Columbia. I discovered

impression that she had her sadness on her shoulder, because if you wanted a while she always asked the question that you wanted to ask—she'd be surely missed." Trina McGovern, the corporation's vice-president of news, current affairs and *News*-world's 24-hour news channel, recalled that From "must have made 100 phone calls a day"—many to troubled colleagues. Adèle McQueen, "cher boss" of 16, she must have had a million acts of small kindness.

The two people who played perhaps the largest roles in shaping From's career were former *Harvard* editor Peter C. Newman and Staronowicz. Newman said that a few months after he became editor of the magazine in 1971, he was casting about for new writers when he came across a story that From had written for *Claremont*.

"I just called her on a whim and asked her if we could discuss some possible articles," he said. "The same is with something like 10 ideas, all of which were good, and we accepted them all. But we didn't get them all because she kept getting better and better ideas. What impressed me was her writing style, because she never wrote a syllable, but her research, which was impeccable. She really went at a subject with compassion, curiosity and integrity. She felt she had to write the truth—not just get the facts, but get the truth, which often is slightly different and a lot harder."

From deserved magazine journalism for only two years later, but she did *Newsweek* because of class friends. He recalled "She would go to her beautiful home, which opens up into a river and makes you think you're in a thousand miles away from my city, and still there are all that beauty and the African art and the waterfalls and talk in a very tough and realistic way about the poor and what seemed to be done to raise the country's social awareness. It should have been recognized in



(Clockwise from top left) From with husband Murray; interviewing Nelson Mandela in South Africa in 1990; with *Knowlton Nash* in 1982; in the *As It Happens* studio in 1975; working "hot just the facts, but the truth"

that I had to be on my toes and found myself reading up before I went to their house. I can't think of anybody who had her combination of curiosity, compassion, integrity and dedication to her work."

The hard-driving Staronowicz noted From's life when the 48-year-old *From* Tension Star reporter took over as executive editor of *As It Happens* on the day after New Year's, 1973, and immediately began redesigning the program. Recalled Staronowicz "I inherited Barbara from the old format and we mutually did not get along. The new direction of the show led to serious conflicts. I don't remember who was arguing for what, but you would have thought this was a match made in heaven." One day From called Staronowicz and proposed that they meet in a restaurant midway between her North York home and the office to use if they could meet their differences. "We both ordered fries and gravy which neither of us ate," said Staronowicz. They argued for most of the afternoon but eventually agreed on the show's design and objectives.

Over the next two years, From and the staff of less than a dozen pushed the audience to 226,000 from 66,000. Some hours From brought home-made cookies to work. Other times she brought her five-year-old adopted son, Matthew, now 24, who had to be restrained from attempts to kiss his face. (The Froms had two other children, David, now 31, an editor with *The Wall Street Journal*, and Linda, 29, a writer.)

Staronowicz left *As It Happens* for other radio assignments, but in 1980, when he was hired to help design *The Journal* as its executive producer, he tried to recruit From. "We were going to have to do thousands of interviews at the last second without being able to brief the host," he said, "and she was the only person in the country who had the track record to handle that. But she took one look at the studio we were building, all the



lights and cables and ladders, and turned me down. She said, 'All that stuff scares me. There's just too much of it.' For two months, I kept at her. One day she said, 'Barbara, this program is going to be television's Normandy invasion and you're not going to be there.' That did it." For the next 10 years, interrupted only trips to the hospital for blood tests to monitor her leukemia, From left a horrid pace, often compensating 13-hour days at *The Journal*. "It would be easy to assume that we were all helping her along in her last days, but are you kidding?" said Staronowicz. "It was exhausting trying to keep up with her. Her conversation was filled with 'wows' and 'goshes' and she started every day as though the flood opening night. She could watch four TV monitors and listen to two radio stations at the same time."

After she finished the Robler interview on the night of March 16, From called Staronowicz at home. "She said, 'I'm really, really feeling run down. I'm not feeling good at all. I want to go home.' I told her to go ahead, the show was late I said, 'Take care of yourself and let God's will go with you.' She said, 'Thank you.' Those were the last words I had with her. I just can't get used to the idea that she won't be there on Monday." On April 4, a memorial service will be held at Toronto's Massey Hall at 3 p.m.

In a 1988 interview, From said that she was inspired by endurance—"by people who know that they were born to die and all that matters is how they do their business." She had a clearer idea than most people of where she would spend her last days, and in 1974, disappointed, having spent years in Canadian broadcasting, she made unparalleled use of her time



Silent requiem for a slugger

BY TRENT FRAYNE

Everyone says that he has been hit on the head too many times, that he should quit the ring for good before his seams are permanently unspooled—everyone says this but Shawn O'Sullivan, the boxer's owner.

Remember Shawn? One of those exceptional people in the fight game, a white guy throwing hard grenades, a young man modest and toadish with an earnest, wide-open face and an Irish tongue and this unusual way of speaking Irish, he would never call what he did fighting or the people he did it with fighters. No, they were boxers and their fights were contests. Also, he'd never say he lost on a guy, he'd say he'd stopped an opponent. One day at the Los Angeles Olympics in 1934, I remember him standing calmly and a live snake after him. He'd quickly finished off a young fighter from Korea. He was asked how he'd describe himself.

"My style is pretty much predicated on what my opponents do," O'Sullivan replied. "If they want to trade, I'll trade. If they want to box, I'll box. There's no set pattern in my games on my box, I adapt to what I'm facing." How long would it take a more descriptive to describe our lines like that? No doves, no doves, no doves.

But at truth, although I saw Shawn in five or six fights as an amateur and another half-dozen after he turned pro, I never saw him fight any other way than straight ahead Bang, thump, great, when he traded furious punches with anything that stood in front of him. One time at the world amateur championships in Montreal he met the Cuban champion Armando Martines at the gold medal bout, and the picture that popped into my mind then and does to this day is of two guys in a slaughterhouse whaling sides of beef.

That was long ago and the way but not much has changed at his style now, closing on 30, Shawn O'Sullivan is still banging and thumping and, set to forget, getting hit. Most recently, he was back to Montreal to his brother's aging

Now closing on 30 years of age, boxer Shawn O'Sullivan is still banging and thumping and, not to forget, getting hit.

slugger, one of the three fighting Wilson brothers, Alex, who had mostly been seen in public over the past half-dozen years, being in jail most of these years for various offences. Their encounter produced nearly 10 rounds of unadorned slugging terminated just six seconds before the bell would have brought a one-sided stoppage.

"The first blow was a left hook that came from way, way outside and called Shawn O'Sullivan's eyes back in his hand," a how Stephen Brown's lead sign in *The Globe and Mail* the following morning. "All you could see were the whites."

Were those cold-blooded eyes a silent requiem to Shawn O'Sullivan? The towel was his fifth loss in 24 professional fights, but he is aware of it was the end. Boxing reporters have been willing for a while now that Shawn's head has been jarred too many times by too many punches, that his speech has been affected, that he has the side from the dressing room to the ring is a path to oblivion. He means.

Still, for the man himself, that path is endlessly seductive. He has spent his adult life treading it. The fight game provides his identity as a fighter—all right, a lesser: Give it up? "Boxing is what I do," he said one day last

week, a note almost of pleading in his voice. So he still calls it boxing, does he? "Yes, of course," he replies. "Fight is an inaccurate term. Fights are what happen outside a bar. When you're out and prepared for a contest in the ring it's something to call it a fight, even smiling."

Seriously, the fascination of the game is not readily satisfied or even acceptable to people who have never deliberately risked a punch to the nose. But there's no question that these elements are there. Ask any fighter. "Really and truly," O'Sullivan says, "it's a job I still enjoy. Yes, I still get butterflies of excitement before every contest as the calculation of long weeks of preparation is at hand."

Shawn grew up in a large family in Toronto, where his father, Michael, drove a city bus and his mother, Margaret Mary, produced ten boys and a girl named Maureen, Shawn's twin. Michael came to Canada from Cork in 1942, following three years with the British police force in Ireland. He is a quiet, now retired, who can quote the classics as readily as most English professors, a man who wanted his five boys to know how to stand up for themselves and taught them to box when they were scarcely taller than a low-led cinder.

Soon after he became a professional, Shawn's managerial handling was taken over by a Baltimore lawyer, Mike Trainer, who had managed the boxing affairs of Sugar Ray Leonard, the former welterweight and middleweight champion. Trainer picked opponents carefully, bringing O'Sullivan along slowly, and Leonard made frequent trips to Toronto to spar with him and become something of his mentor. "I've been able to show him a few shortcuts based on my own learning experience," Leonard said once. "I've always had pretty good balance and I've been able to help him get better leverage through balance."

But the whole came off for Shawn one Sunday afternoon in June of 1986, when a cool, offbeat, methodical puncher named Simon Brown turned up at the Toronto Coliseum and frankly outboxed him. After two rounds, 37 seconds of the third round, the referee stopped the fight.

Soon after there have been more down than up, at least in the ring. In those six years he married, and he and his wife, Veronica, have two little girls, Emma and Egan. He says he is financially independent, the owner of five houses and now living in 125 acres near Catskill, N.Y., two hours north of Manhattan. He calls the United States "a security positive since—it overflows with all aspects of that life." Canada, he says, is negative. "There, it's why you can't and why you couldn't. In the States it's, 'Go for it, man.'"

So he is not likely to stop trading punches with people, and people are not apt to stop wondering about his speech.

All sorts of people. The other day the phone rang at my home and the voice said, "This is Shawn O'Sullivan. There is something I want to ask and I'd appreciate a straightforward answer. Do you, no, thank my speech is shored?"

"Yes," I said.

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A victim of fame

Dylan Thomas was unable to handle success

DYLAN THOMAS IN THE MERCY

OF HIS MEANS

By George Trevelyan
(36) Oakland & Stewart, 206 pages, \$43

It is now almost four decades since Dylan Thomas died prematurely at 36, yet so his poetry and fiction were sweeping the English-speaking world. His beautifully collected and

aged such works as "Fern Hill" and "A Child's Christmas in Wales" had made him known in his native Britain and North America to a far wider audience than the usual small circle of poetry lovers. He was also known as a wine-soaked and a drink. The picture of Thomas goes considerably in safety in George Trevelyan's fascinating new biography, *Dylan Thomas: In the Mercy of His Means*. Trevelyan, a rock-encase journalist, reports that the best way to understand Thomas is as a caricature of doomed stars including James Joyce and Jack Kerouac. Like them, Thomas could not handle the pressures of fame. Excessively lonely and gregarious, he sought refuge in alcohol and women—a less a monster of men's lives victim of his own weaknesses.

Born in 1918 in Swansea, Wales, Thomas remained in many ways a boy all his life. The Welsh Thomas grew bolder like a boy, standing just over five feet, with a plump, cherubic face and masses of curls. He also achieved a boy's aversion to soap and water, and often-steady lack of a good wash. He is a lot of amorphous psychology. Trevelyan blames Thomas' unresponsiveness largely on his mother, Florence, who she chose spoiled her only son. Whatever the cause, Thomas never did learn to live up to certain social responsibilities. He rarely paid back his countless debts when he had the money and avoided the draft for the Second World War by making himself an invalid with drugs—a trick he learned of his friends.

What Trevelyan fails to point out is that Thomas' immaturity was an essential part of his genius: most of his writing careers a profoundly childlike sense of wonder. The poet he paid for such a gift was to receive its payment in the world of men. Still, he was mature and dedicated when it came to his art. He wrote his poems about time, and was always professional—and sober—when writing and performing scripts for the film. It was in his private life that he played the child.

Thomas was particularly close to his wife, Caitlin, who gave up a dancing career to mother the poet and their three children. Even when he was earning good money in London, Thomas made little time for Caitlin in Wales, as she always insisted that they were domestic. And he slept with other women, putting her through a hell of jealousy. But it is Caitlin who protects the myth, perpetuated by Thomas himself, that he was a great lover. According to her, he was hopeless at bed. "It was like embracing a child," she told Trevelyan.

During his fourth American reading tour, in 1953, Thomas collapsed and died. The coroner's report gave the immediate cause of death as pneumonia, but also cited a "massive injury to the brain" from liquor, sleeping pills and amphetamines.

Thomas's reputation as an untamed genius made it difficult to judge his work during his lifetime. Now, it appears that only a small handful of poems rise above the rest, an undulating stream that spills to many of them. For these few great poems, Dylan Thomas and his family paid an incredible price.

JOHN REMBOLD

Sharing the podium

Browning and Stojko win silver and bronze

For the past decade, Kurt Browning has spent his summers at Edgewater's Royal Gensco Club polishing the skills that made him the men's world figure skating champion from 1989 through 1991. But after losing his title to Ukrainian star Viktor Petukhin at the world championships in Oakland, Calif., last Friday, Browning, 28, of Caroline, Alta., told Marjorie that this summer will be different. He plans to take a month-long holiday in July, he said, and he may spend more time pushing than skating. He also has a major career decision whether to remain amateur or turn professional. But for another young Canadian skater, 20-year-old Ilya Stojko of Richmond Hill, Ont., the immediate future could not be clearer. After winning a bronze medal in Oakland, Stojko said that he was eagerly anticipating a summer of busy training for next season. "I want to get some whole package," said Stojko. "The summer is when we do our work."

Although both Browning and Stojko fell short of a gold medal, they did become the first

Canadian singles skaters to share the victory podium at a world championship. And for both skaters, their performances in Oakland were personal triumphs. Browning rebounded from a back injury earlier in the season that prevented him from training for six weeks and contributed to his disappointing sixth-place finish at the Winter Olympics in Albertville, France, a month ago. Stojko conquered his split toe to the forefront of international skating, which began when he finished ninth at the 1990 world championships in Halifax, Nova Scotia, the partner of Isabelle Brasseur, from Bonaventure, Que., and Lloyd Easter, of Scottsdale, Ont., finished third in Oakland—what they did in Albertville—largely because Brasseur fell twice in their 4-6-minute-long program.

With the Olympics and the world championships behind him, Browning said that he planned to sit out next season. He has a long-term contract with the Toronto-based agent, Kevin Albrecht, and a team of advisors to plan his future. He is tempted to remain amateur, he added, because the next Winter Olympics, in Lillehammer, Norway, are only two years away rather than the normal four years. Browning said that winning an Olympic medal, which he failed to do at Calgary in 1988 and at Albertville, would be both personally satisfying and commercially lucrative. "Four years would be too long to wait," he said. "But two years goes by pretty quickly. So it's an interesting idea."

Browning must also weigh the risk of further injury to his back in the intensive training—and high-level performances—of amateur skaters. He missed the Canadian championships in Montreal, N.B., in mid-January because he was recovering from an injured disc, and later complained that he was far from being in top condition for the Olympics. Besides his back, Browning acknowledges that he must also decide whether he can keep pace with the group of talented young skaters, led by Stojko, who emerged this season. "It's not easy," said Browning. "I don't expect an easy ride."

While Browning's skating partner is next season, Stojko and his partner, Doug Leigh, will already



Stojko finally impressing the judges

be focused intently on next winter. Stojko is an energetic skater who celebrated his 20th birthday with his mother and his coach while flying to Oakland for the world championships. He also has diverse interests in completing first-year studies at York University in Toronto, holds a black belt in karate and, during the summer, often spends several hours a day riding his bike on trails around his parents' Richmond Hill home.

But all these interests came second to skating. Stojko said that he will train both on and off the ice from 7 a.m. until 1 p.m. five days a week this summer. He practices at the Margate School of Skating, a rink and athletic centre that Leigh and his coach of Burtie jointly built and operate. Leigh also trained Brian Orser, the 1987 world champion and Calgary silver medalist. After placing a second skater in the medal podium in four years, Leigh declared: "I'm absolutely thrilled. I can't think of a better way to top off a season than to win a medal at the world championships."

For Leigh and many Canadian skating fans, Stojko's bronze medal was most significant for what they saw as pace setting at the Albertville Olympics. There, Leigh pointed out, Stojko skated his short and long programs twice—lessly than any of the medal winners. But because he was one of the younger skaters in the field, and less familiar to the judges than his more experienced rivals, he placed only seventh. "He was on the doorstep at the Olympics, but he got left on the doorstep," said Leigh. "We had to wake him up again that he is a great skater." In Oakland, both Stojko and Browning showed enough grace to reach the podium, just not enough to reach the top.

BY ARY JENSEN

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TELEVISION

Father of invention

A mini-series rediscovers Alexander Graham Bell

THE SOUND AND THE SILENCE
(CTV, April 5 and 6, 8 p.m.)

Alexander Graham Bell was a consummate man of science in an era when science was firmly establishing itself as the consummate achievement of mankind. By the time of his death at the age of 75 at his summer home on Cape Breton Island, the Scottish-born inventor had created the telephone, the hydrofoil and

makers to rework their portrayal of him. Alexander Graham Bell was born in Edinburgh in 1847, the second of three sons of Melville Bell and his wife, Eliza, both of whom inspired the inventor's lifelong interest in the spoken word. Melville Bell, portrayed with paternal correctness by Brian Benison, was a pioneer of the so-called vocal-physic movement, which employed a universal phonetic alphabet. An Eliza Bell, Irish actress Brenda Fricker blends the discretion of a Vic-



Freddie Bell (left) and Buck: History in the making

Canadian Tyne Foster, William Schmitt and John Kent Harrison wrote a draft script and then asked several of Bell's descendants for comment. Among them was his granddaughter Michael Grossman, now 86 years old and a retired physician living in Washington. In an interview with Maclean's, Grossman said that the script, although generally true to life, contained a few historical errors. Particularly glaring, she noted, was the fact that called for her great-grandfather Melville Bell to speak with a Scottish accent. Recalling that the man was an accomplished elocutionist who, she said, had an accent "as good as nobody's," Grossman accurately corrected the film-

maker's notion with the error of a devoted mother. Almost dead, Eliza depended on a long rubber hose, directed towards her ear, to amplify the speech of others. In use of the show's earliest and most touching scenes, Bell portrayed as a young boy by Nick Clark first applies his rudimentary findings on the principles of sound transmission by placing his lips directly against the bones of his mother's temple, allowing her to hear him without the use of the amplifying hose.

Much of the strength of *The Sound and the Silence* lies in its determination to show how Bell's life and work were affected by his desire

to free the deaf from dependence on mechanical devices and the loneliness of sign language. In 1870, after his parents moved to Bradford, Massachusetts, Bell portrayed as an adult by New Bedford, John Blackwood secured a position at a school for the deaf in Boston. There, reports of his work to teach deaf children to speak reached a cranky, prosperous business promoter named Gardiner Hubbard (Jeffrey Thomas), who lured Bell to improve the education of his daughter, Mabel. Portrayed in a trapeze by Toronto actress Vanessa Vaughan and as an adult by Kristin Elsworth-Queen, both deaf, Mabel was a charming, determined and headstrong woman, a perfect match for the accomplished Bell.

Gardner Hubbard soon began to finance Bell's experiments into sound transmission over electrical wires. Dismantling the inventor's often frenetic discussions with his associates, Thomas Watson (Francis Bell), *The Sound and the Silence* maintains a lucid explanation of their scientific advances with the new intensity of history in the making. Particularly stirring is a re-creation of Bell's first successful experiment with what he called "speaking wire," when on March 10, 1876, he transmitted his spoken message, "Mr. Watson, come here. I want to see you," from one room to another of his Boston apartment.

The Sound and the Silence also focuses on Bell's long devotion to Mabel, from before they were married in 1877 until he died in 1922. Although at times it comes close to suggesting their relationship, the show's reconstruction of the couple's strong bond breathes life into its portrayal of the creative, while constantly portraying the private, often aching, world of the deaf. At one point, an elated Mabel, hidden from view in a crowd, reads Bell's lips as he reveals her love to the young woman to her skeptical mother. Later, with a blend of whimsy and sensuality, Mabel runs her hands across her father's chest to feel the vibration of a Scottish ballad that he is singing to her.

Although Bell was an American citizen in 1882, he spent his summers at a family retreat in Baddeck, N.S., in the stunning area of Cape Breton Island. Filming there for three weeks last September, Harrison, who also directed the mini-series, and his crew captured the area's rugged beauty, while re-creating some of the more harrowing adventures that Bell encountered there. Among them a legend of sleep that had more to do with the usual number of nights, designed to recreate the insular, idyllic, and a rural device that he hoped would be able to directly transmit human thoughts from one person to another. Such oddball preoccupations often accompanied Bell's wife and his father. In one scene, when the younger Bell tells his father that he has a surprise in store for him, the old man retorts: "I hope it's not one of your damned wirelesses." Never convincing as subject, *The Sound and the Silence* extends offers in entertaining and artistic look at an exceptional man of science.

KEVIN DYER

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Master manipulators

Hitler and Stalin were a matched pair

HITLER AND STALIN: PARALLEL LIVES

By Alan Bullock
(McClelland & Stewart, 1,007 pages, \$39.95)

Adolf Hitler and Josef Stalin were ideological enemies, but when it came to destruction, they were a matched pair. Hitler killed millions in the course of his war to modern Europe. Stalin killed millions of his own countrymen in his successful attempt to avoid the fledgling

leader's personality.

Hitler and Stalin were ruthless egotists who carried little fear of anyone. Bullock suggests that childhood shames shaped Stalin's behavior, a Georgian showman, bent less regularly. And although there is no hard evidence that Hitler's middle-class Austrian parents nurtured him, Bullock reports that his father was "authoritarian and selfish." In any case, both men grew up knowing a profound sense of hatred and resentment. Stalin found an outlet for those feelings as a Communist agitator,

working in pre-revolutionary Russia to overthrow its czarist rulers. Hitler's obvious enemies were the Jews and capitalists. Like Stalin, he had a lifelong need for a scapegoat—some grasp he could characterize as subhuman and, as a result, disposable.

Still, it seems clear that, as young men, Hitler and Stalin were probably not much different from many other legions of youths wandering the streets of Europe. They became dangerous only after they had achieved the power to carry out their fantasies in his detailed, increasing account of their rise to authority. Bullock shows how both men cleverly manipulated the existing order for their own ends. Hitler helped transform an alienated German worker into the Nazi party, and played the legitimate game of German electoral politics until he became

chancellor in 1933. His appeal was always directly to the public. And even with individuals, he had a magnetic rapport with crowds, and played brilliantly on their secret fears.

Stalin's rise, through the ranks of the Soviet Union's ruling Communist party, was much quieter. When Vladimir Lenin, the leader of the 1917 revolution, died in 1924, Stalin had accumulated enough influence to eventually outdistance his rivals for the leadership. Unlike Hitler, who lived the fringes of his position, Stalin lived simply—at times in a single-story two-room house outside the Kremlin. Reported one eyewitness, Communist party official Boris Bakharev, in his memoirs: "He loves neither money nor pleasure, neither sport nor women."

What he did love was power, which he exercised with consummate secrecy and stealth. Stalin's reshaping of the Soviet Union was brutal. He murdered, starved and imprisoned millions of persons who trusted his program to move them onto collective farms. He also ordered the deaths of thousands of fellow Communists whose only crime was to disagree—or be suspected of disagreeing—with him. And his chronic suspicions of disloyalty reached war's height in 1937 and 1938, when he purged the Soviet military of thousands of its best officers. As a result, his armies collapsed when the Germans attacked in 1941.

Hitler's early successes in the Second World War led him to believe that he was a military genius. Like Stalin, he would place his generals in the middle of a battle and tell them what to do. But while Stalin eventually learned to leave his best commanders alone, Hitler never did. His often absurd orders led increasingly to disaster, including the loss of the German 6th Army at Stalingrad in 1942.

Bullock concludes that although Stalin's assassin-bomb Hitler's, it was the Soviet people who were the real losers. The Germans suffered terribly in defeat—but at least they got rid of Hitler. Stalin, increasingly paranoid, ruled the U.S.S.R. until his death in 1953. And for almost 40 years afterwards, the general fear and centralized authority that he instilled held the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in their life-strangling grip. Hitler and Stalin is an unforgettable testimony to what twisted individuals can do to a society—if their own people lack the foresight to lead them from power.

JOHN BIRMES

Maclean's

BEST-SELLING

FLECTION

- 1 *Barbarian Days*, Maclean (1)
- 2 *The Road to Omaha*, Callaghan (2)
- 3 *Griffin and Sabine*, Bennett (6)
- 4 *The Poison Book*, Graham (1)
- 5 *Viva Cuba*, Corbin (1)
- 6 *Invader*, Cooper (16)
- 7 *The Big Queen of Sheenans*, Brooks (2)
- 8 *Young Sam*, Crockett (1)
- 9 *Yes, Jailer* (7)
- 10 *The Republic of Love*, Stoddard (3)

NONFICTION

- 1 *Revolutionary Wars*, Wilson, Stevens (1)
- 2 *Stalin Confessions*, Wright (2)
- 3 *Blackish*, Feltch (1)
- 4 *Reagan Report*, Freeman (2)
- 5 *A Return to Love*, Williamson (2)
- 6 *Wealth Without War*, LeCompt, Corrie (7)
- 7 *Double Cross*, Galloway (1)
- 8 *Sea of Thieves*, Stewart (14)
- 9 *The New Granada*, Manning (2)
- 10 *Stephen Hawking*, Gribble and White (6)

1. *Frontiers last week*

Compiled by Bruce Bellman

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